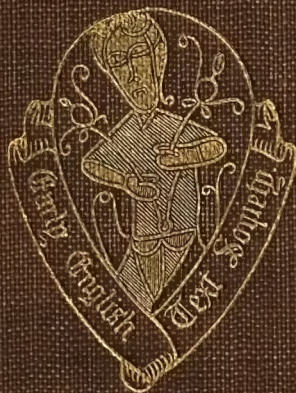
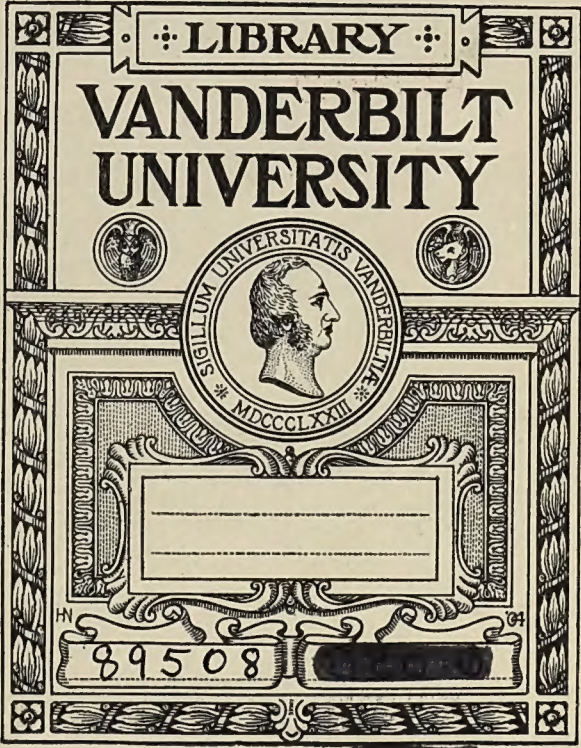


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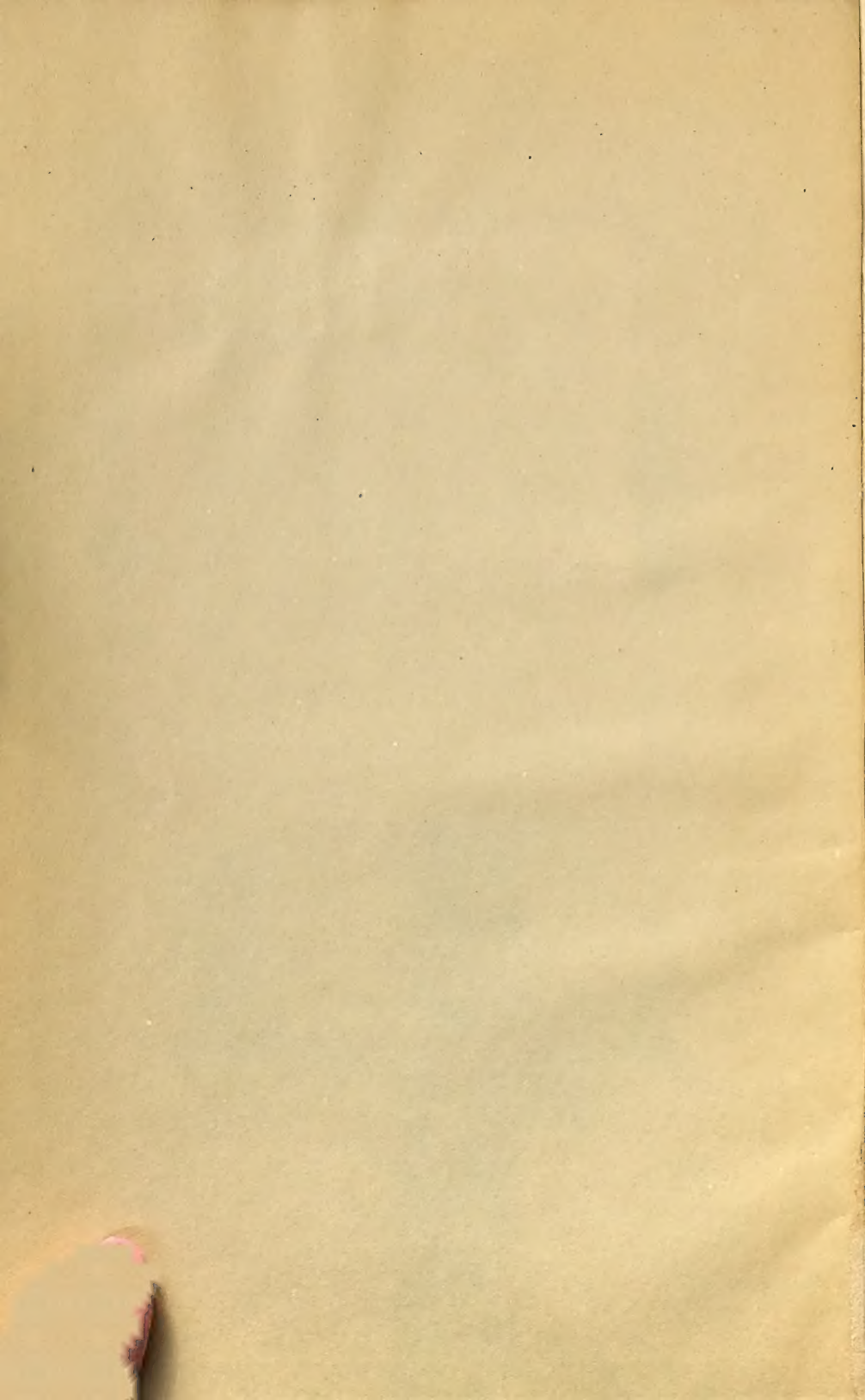
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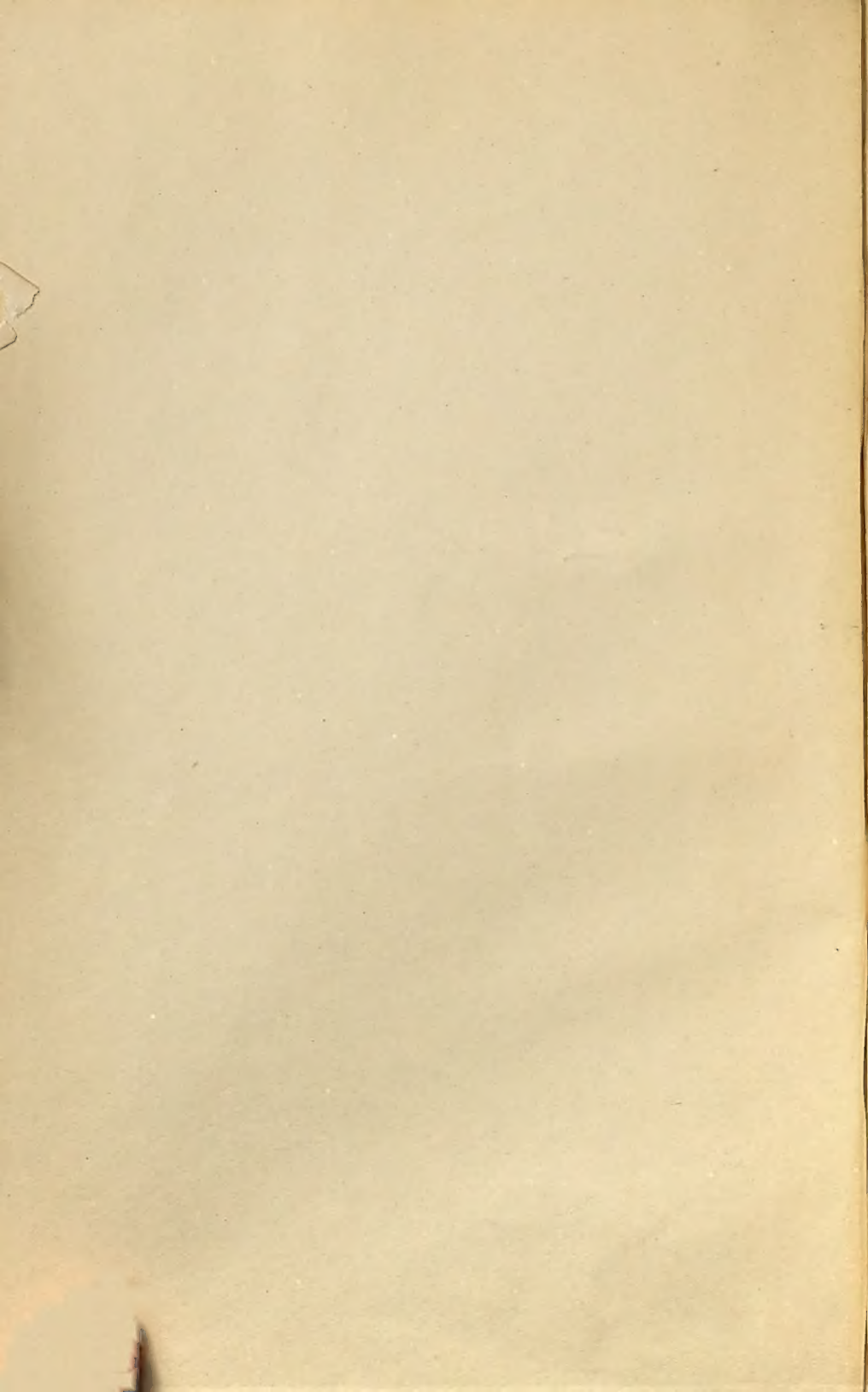
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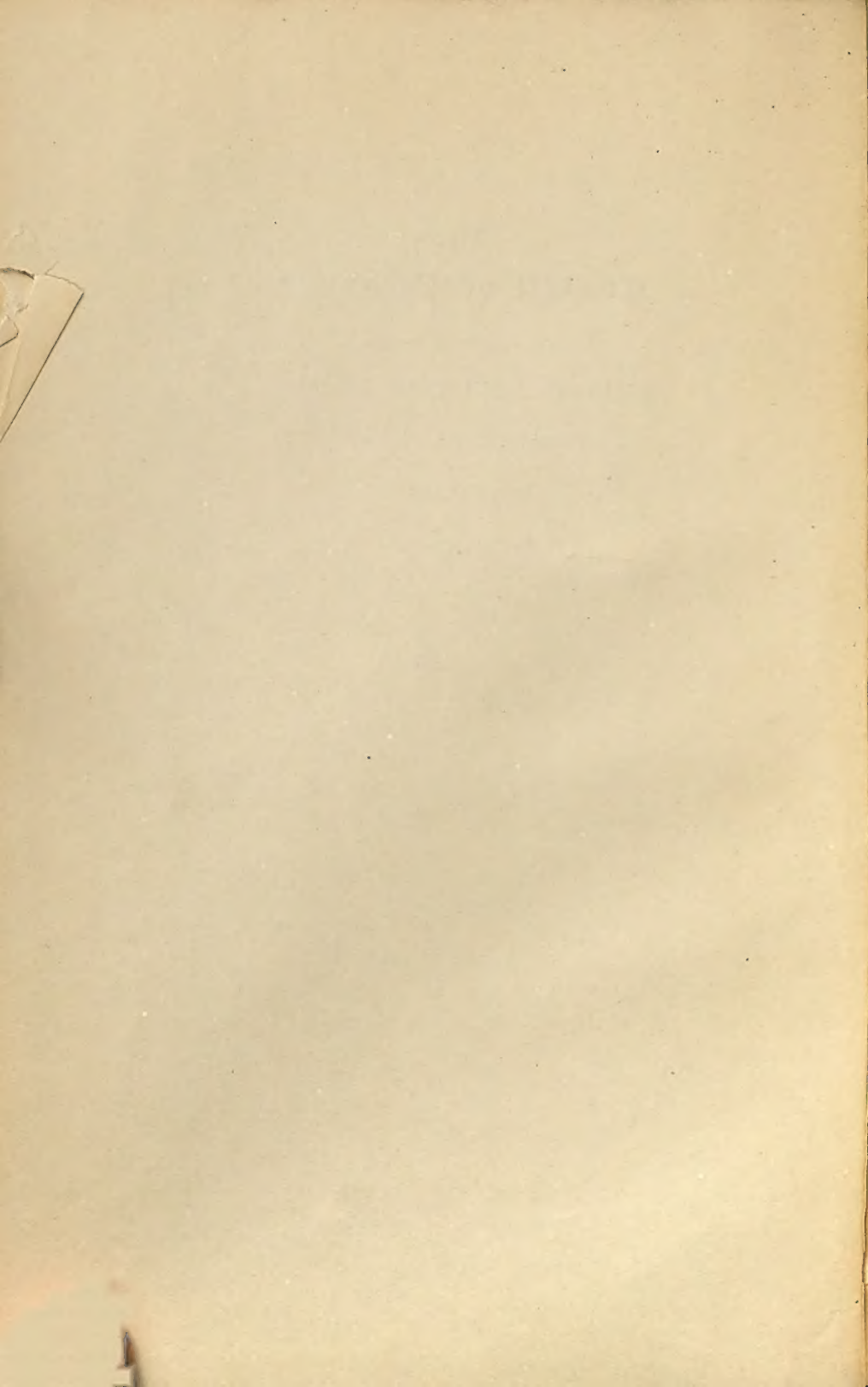
The
Castell of Pleasure

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Original Series, No. 179

1930 (for 1928)

PRICE 12s. 6d.



The castell of pleasure.



The conueyaunce of a dreame how Desyre went to the castell of pleasure wherein was the gardyn of affeccon inhabited by Beaute to whome he ainerously expressed his lone vpon þ which supplaccon rose grete stryfe dysputacyon and argument betwene Wyte and Dysdayne. ❀

The Castell of Pleasure

BY

WILLIAM NEVILL

The text of the first issue of the poem
with variant readings from the
reprint of 1518

*Together with
Introduction, Notes, and Glossary*

BY

ROBERTA D. CORNELIUS, A.M.

Associate Professor of English in Randolph-Macon Woman's College

LONDON:

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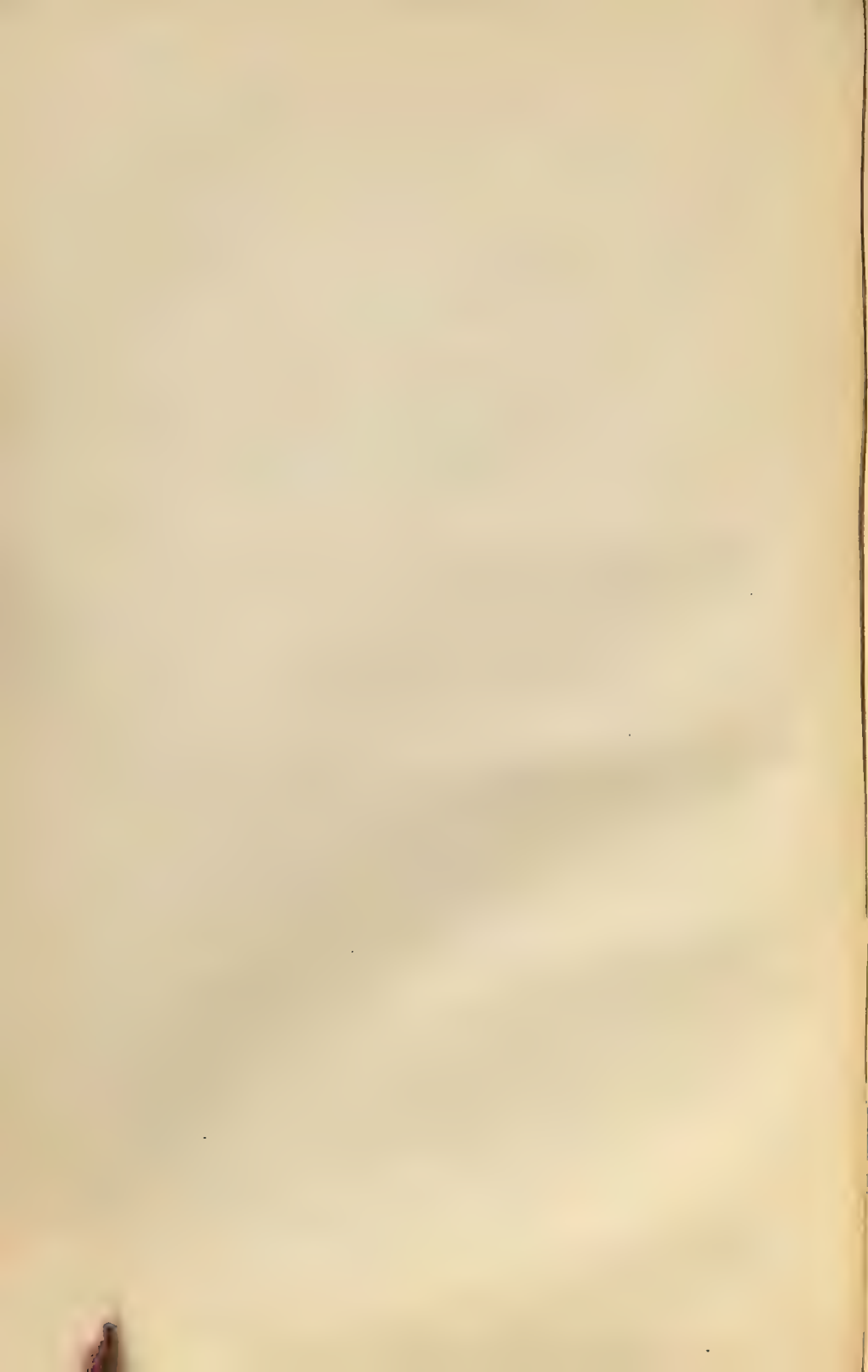
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PREFACE

THE *CASTELL OF PLEASURE*, which, so far as is known, is its author's one contribution to literature, has not been reprinted since 1518. In her excellent anthology of fifteenth-century poetry, Miss E. P. Hammond has included liberal selections from it and has summarized the parts not given; her notes are important both for the study of Nevill's unique poem and for that of the type which it represents. No adequate judgment of any literary composition can be formed, however, until the whole of the text is known. It is to be observed that Miss Hammond has made no use of the Copland- de Worde edition of the poem, which was undoubtedly the original of the Pepwell print. Since *The Castell of Pleasure* exists in only two copies, one of the de Worde edition, now in the Henry E. Huntington Library in Southern California, and one of the Pepwell reprint, which is in the British Museum, it seems useful to publish the entire poem.

It was Professor Carleton Brown who called my attention to *The Castell of Pleasure*, who told me of the existence of the de Worde text, and who informed me of its being in the Huntington Library. To him I am very much indebted for advice and criticism.

I wish to thank the authorities of the Henry E. Huntington Library for their kindness in having made for me a photographic facsimile of their unique copy of

de Worde's edition, and in according me permission to edit it and to reproduce the title-page. Likewise I desire to acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude to the staff of the British Museum for their unfailing helpfulness and courtesy. I am indebted to the authorities and attendants of the Bodleian Library, of the Public Record Office, of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Cambridge University Library, to the Librarian of Gonville and Caius College, to the Honorable Philip Cary, York Herald, and to many others who have aided me. For some facts concerning the history of the two extant copies of Nevill's poem, I am indebted to Mr. C. K. Edmonds of the Henry Huntington Library, to Major Herbert Collman, of Sotheby and Company, and to Mr. F. Marcham, dealer in rare books.

I am glad to acknowledge here my indebtedness to the President and Faculty of Bryn Mawr College and to express my gratitude to them. By awarding to me the Helene and Cecil Rubel Fellowship for 1927-28, they enabled me to study for that year in England. It was in the course of my research there that I completed the following edition of *The Castell of Pleasure*.—R.D.C.

INTRODUCTION

I

THE PATTERN OF *THE CASTELL OF PLEASURE*

THE pattern of *The Castell of Pleasure* is very well indicated by the short summary of the poem given on the title-page, namely: 'The conveyance of a dreame how Desyre went to the castell of pleasure / wherin was the gardyn of affeccyon inhabited by Beaute to whome he amerously expressed his loue upon the which supplycacyon rose grete stryfe dysputation / and argument betwene Pyte and Dysdayne.' To this, one need add only that Desire is at last successful, and that Disdain retires from the field leaving him at the feet of Beauty.

The action of the poem is in a dream setting. The author represents himself as

Tornynge and traversynge hystories unstedfaste
In Ovydes bokes of transformacyon

and as coming at last upon the story of Phœbus and Daphne. This story fills him with heaviness so that when the curfew has rung and the doors have been shut for the night he finds himself obsessed by 'many fantasies.' Morpheus then approaches and, having informed him of Desire's 'solempne othe' to serve Beauty, commands him to come along and see what happens. Morpheus conducts the author to the mountain of courage, and explains to him its nature. They walk forth on this goodly hill until they come to the bank of a river. At this point they stand looking across

at the castle of pleasure and waiting for low tide in the river, 'the lauer of lowliness, slydyng over the stones of stedfastness.' The river with its stones of steadfastness is to be dreaded by the inconstant, for it has the property of so swelling against such persons that they cannot find the stepping-stones, and thus 'for lacke of helpe are right soone forlore.' The hero of the poem, however, having been duly warned to arm himself with reason, crosses without difficulty. The castle of pleasure is then not more than a stone's cast from him. He remembers reading of the stormy blasts in the castle, but, none the less, he thinks when he beholds the gates that all peril has been passed.

At this point comes a description of the castle. On the gates two scriptures are said to be written. These scriptures show a choice of ways. The choice, in brief, is between the service of Beauty and the gaining of worldly wealth and success. Bethinking himself that love will outlast riches, the dreamer decides in favour of Beauty. When he has entered the 'ryall place,' he is welcomed by Comfort, who promises to aid him in his effort to meet Desire. Comfort and the hero walk forth in the 'base court green,' Comfort telling her charge that here he shall see many goodly pastimes. She then inquires which way he will choose, saying she has forgotten what his decision was. The hero without hesitation replies that he wishes to be in Beauty's presence. Comfort announces that her sister Kindness must then convey him. Kindness consents, saying that at the request of Comfort she cannot refuse.

Kindness now begins to inquire into the hero's motives and to ask by whom he was conducted, seeing

that he has so well passed the many 'jeopardies' of the way. He answers that he has been brought thither by Morpheus and that one cause of his coming is fantasy. No sooner is this said than he is in the garden of affection, a gay and glorious place environed with walls of precious stones.

Fantasy appears upon the scene, and Kindness instructs her to let this man 'enter her warde' and to conduct him to Desire, since his colour is 'pale and wanne.' Kindness leaves him then with Fantasy. Fantasy leads him in through the gate. He finds himself enclosed about with a covert:

Set full of myrt trees the apple tre appered playne
Of Pyramus and Thisbe dystroyed by loues darte
Whiche made me ofte to wysche that I were out agayne.

He begins to lament that he has now been caught in Love's chain. He bethinks himself of the minotaur and the labyrinth, of the 'proces of alayne,' of certain verses of Virgil on the futility of hiding colours. As he laments, Fantasy reassures him saying that no man can have comfort always with him, and, after recounting to him the story of Hippomenes and Atalanta, introduces him to Lady Eloquence at the well of Helicon with the request that she advance 'this gentylman.' Fantasy declares that she must go about bringing Desire into her lady's presence. Lady Eloquence and the author lean at the harbour where Beauty sits at ease and listen to Fantasy speaking in behalf of Desire. Beauty replies to Fantasy that she is not now properly accompanied, and begs that Credence and Eloquence may be called. Disdain insists that her lady have pre-eminence, as becomes her state.

Fantasy goes forth 'to do her message.' Desire appeals to her, urging that she does not know his suffering, and that he fears some mischance through the intervention of Disdain.

Desire comes into the presence of Beauty and makes his supplication. Disdain, however, opposes him. Pity comes to take his part. A debate between Pity and Disdain ensues. Disdain is worsted, Credence having taken Pity's side against her. Beauty now receives Desire into her protection, and promises not to forsake him. He pledges eternal fidelity, and Disdain takes her departure. The author wakes from his dream and laments the disappearance of his vision, and the evanescence of worldly power and happiness. He advises lovers to be diligent and courageous, and resolves to study no more as he had been studying before he fell asleep.

II

THE LITERARY RELATIONS OF *THE CASTELL OF PLEASURE*

THE *CASTELL OF PLEASURE*, like many other didactic pieces, is compounded of established literary motifs. It has the conventional dream setting; the plan is that of an allegorical pilgrimage to an ideal goal; the conventional débat is employed; illustrative stories from antiquity are used; the whole is finally justified as a means 'to avoide of slouthe the vyolence.' These conventions one finds in innumerable poems of the Middle Ages, both secular and religious. It is to the secular, however, that *The Castell of Pleasure* belongs. Although remote from the *Roman de la Rose* in spirit and execution, as well as in time, it is yet one of the many pieces taking their ultimate origin from that potent allegory. It does not, as does its famous progenitor, embrace all the art of love, but it is designated by its author as a book of love.

Its 'hoole affeccyon' is to pleasure, and it is written to 'comforte them that brenne in louynge fyre.' Only in an indirect sense can it be considered as an art of love. In his quest of Beauty, the lover who would succeed is obliged to follow a course of steadfast devotion; he must guard against any suspicion of dishonour or of selfishness. *The Castell of Pleasure* is not a manual of love, such as the treatise of Andreas Capellanus, or even such as the English *Court of Love*: there is no formal set of

rules save in the author's conclusion. Desire is depicted as a lover who has observed the laws of love, and who, therefore, is to be rewarded, rather than as a pupil to be taught.

In Nevill's poem the treatment of love is somewhat like that found in the latter part of *The Temple of Glas*. In *The Temple* Venus instructs the knight in proper behaviour. In naming the ghostly comforters who must aid him she implies an allegorical pilgrimage to his lady.

And merci first shall thi waie make,
And honest menyng afor to do thi message,
To make merci in his hert awake;
And secrenes, to further thi viage,
With humble port to her that is so sage,
Shul menes ben, & I myself also
Shall the fortune er thi tale be do.¹

The lover makes his supplication to his lady, even as does Desire to Beauty, and the lady, after some admonitions from Venus to the effect that it is now time to banish Danger and let Mercy enter her heart (1141 ff.), accepts him. Venus' address to the Lady and the Knight and to the Lady and the Knight united, gives more fully than does *The Castell* the statutes of love. The handling of the conventions of love in general, however, in the latter part of Lydgate's poem is similar to Nevill's.

In spite of its conventionality, or, perhaps indeed, because of it, one finds little in *The Castell* that can be traced to a single definite source. Take the title, for instance: how is one to decide what piece had suggested it to the

¹L. 897 ff.

young poet? In *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, printed several times before Nevill wrote, is a poem called *Le Chastel de Joyeuse Destinée*. From the title of the book and the title of this particular poem, Nevill could have arrived at *The Castell of Pleasure*. There were by this time, however, several poems somewhat like *The Castell of Pleasure* named as 'castles' of one sort or another: *The Castell of Labour*, with its French original, *Le Chateau de Labour*, Gringore's poem, *Le Casteau d'Amours*, as well as the poem just mentioned, *Le Chastel de Joyeuse Destinée*. Then there was *The Pastime of Pleasure*. It is not surprising that Nevill entitled his 'book of loue' as he did; but it would be impossible to name the exact source of the title. So it is with the motifs appearing in the poem.

The most important source of incidental material is Ovid. It was in 'tornyng and trauersynge hystories unstedfaste In Ouydes bokes of transformacyon' that the young poet got his initial impetus for the poem; from Ovid comes the opening story of Phœbus, Cupid and Daphne as does the story of Atalanta (l. 419 ff.); by the example of Ovid the low style of the poem is finally justified.¹ Nevill begins, indeed, as if the metamorphosis of Daphne were to be the subject of his poem, but as a matter of fact, he is using it only as a means to introduce the introduction, namely, the dream that is to be the setting. As Miss Hammond points out, Chaucer had employed the same device in *The Dethe of Blanche the Duchess* and in *The Parlement of Foules*.²

¹ See l. 938.

² *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, Durham, North Carolina, and London, 1927, p. 496. Notes on selections from *The Castell of Pleasure*.

Nevill may have taken it over from Chaucer, but there is no proof that such is the case.

One passage, certainly, is derived from Virgil. With ll. 809-820 compare the *Æneid* I, 603-610, Æneas speaking to Dido:

di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
usquam iustitia est, et mens conscia recti,
præmia digna ferant. quæ te tam læta tulerunt
sæcula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt
quæ me cumque vocant terræ.

Here, although one could not say that Nevill has translated, one may certainly say that he has paraphrased rather closely. The two rhetorical questions are the same in substance; the clauses emphasizing the permanency and the constancy of Æneas' devotion employ the same comparisons in the same order; there is very considerable verbal parallelism: *di*, the eternal god; *numina*, powers; *pios*, folkes petyouse; *iustitia*, Iustyce; *præmia digna ferant*, rewarde you accordingly; *sæcula*, world; *parentes*, parentes; *fluvii*, flodes; *umbræ*, shadows; *polus*, firmament; *honos*, honor; *nomen*, name.

An interesting form of the Perilous Passage motif occurs near the beginning when the author and Morpheus are obliged to cross by the stepping stones of steadfastness the river of lowliness. It will be remembered that if an inconstant person attempted the crossing he would be swept away by the swelling tide.¹ The stepping stones may be compared with the

¹ *The Castell of Pleasure*, l. 210 ff.

hazardous bridge in Stephen Hawes' poem *The Example of Virtue*¹ and, more remotely, with the perilous passage that belongs to the conventions of the other-world journey and that appears in some Arthurian stories.²

One asks oneself whether there could have been any connection between Nevill's poem and the work of certain Scotch allegorists. Neither the famous *Kingis Quair* nor the work of Robert Henryson offers any significant parallels. In regard to *The Palice of Honour* and *King Hart* by Gavin Douglas, the first fact to take into account is that if Nevill knew either of these poems, he must have known it in manuscript. The first extant edition of *The Palice of Honour* was printed in London by William Copland probably in 1553; the actual first edition, of which some fragments remain, is supposed to have been printed in Edinburgh about 1540. The text of *King Hart* was not printed until 1786. Both poems had been written, it is true, before 1512,³ but the chances that Nevill had seen either of them are rather slight. It cannot be supposed that a large number of manuscripts of the poems was made. So far as is known, *The Palice of Honour* has not come down in

¹ *The Example of Virtue* is included in *The Dunbar Anthology*, edited by E. A. Arber, London, 1901. See pp. 262-264, stanzas 174-180.

² See A. C. L. Brown's *Iwain: A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance* (*Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. viii, p. 75 ff.), for a discussion of the Perilous Passage in 'Ancient Celtic Stories of the Journey of the Other World.'

Compare also Sir John Rhys's *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 54-59, and Gaston Paris's study of *Le Conte de la Charrette in Romania*, XII (1883), pp. 508-510. In the latter, footnote 2, p. 508, is of special value.

³ See *The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas*, edited by John Small, I, Edinburgh, 1874. Introduction, cxxix ff. and clxviii ff.

manuscript, and there is only one extant manuscript of *King Hart*.

If there should appear any very close resemblance between the work of the two authors, however, one might entertain the idea that Nevill had seen Douglas's manuscript, but such resemblances are too general or too minor to give ground for this supposition. Both Douglas's allegories are much more serious and comprehensive than is Nevill's.

In *The Palice of Honour*¹ occurs the closest parallelism that is to be found. The description of the palace shows some general resemblance to that of the castle of pleasure; the perilous ascent, fatal to those who are but insincere devotees of honour, and the bridge from which the author falls just before awakening from his dream remind one of the stream and stepping stones so hazardous to the inconstant in love. Perilous passages, however, were conventional; and neither of the two in Douglas's poem is markedly similar to that in *The Castell of Pleasure*.

Nevill may well have known seven of William Dunbar's poems from a volume printed by Chepman & Millar, in 1508, but the only one of these seven that would come in for consideration is *The Goldyn Targe*. This is at once a shorter and a more elaborate poem than *The Castell of Pleasure*. The theme of the poem is that although Reason with his golden targe may protect one from the onslaughts of Venus so long as he remains unblinded, once Presence has 'kest ane powder in his ene,' Reason is powerless; his protégé must surrender. This is a dream

¹See *The Palice of Honour*, Part III.

poem with gods and goddesses and many allegorical figures on the scene, but aside from the purely conventional machinery, it bears no resemblance to *The Castell of Pleasure*. Of the other poems of Dunbar, which, of course, Nevill might have read in manuscript, there is not one that offers itself for serious consideration as a possible influence upon *The Castell of Pleasure*.

As for the chief matter of the poem, the pattern is to be found in other poems of the period, notably in *The Castell of Labour*, usually attributed to Alexander Barclay,¹ and in *The Pastime of Pleasure*, by Stephen Hawes. If one set out to compare the two castle pieces, however, one would find likenesses only in vocabulary, verse-form, and design. In respect to the last, as soon as we pass from the general to the particular, we find striking differences. Both poems, it is true, present an allegorical pilgrimage to an ideal goal; in both there are personified abstractions to serve as guides and conductors; both are without an actual combat such as often occurs in pieces of this kind; in both instances the desired goal is attained, and the ending is, in a sense, happy. But *The Castell of Labour* is more of a sermonizing piece than is *The Castell of Pleasure*. The latter is written 'to conforte them that brenne in louyng fyre' with 'his hoole affeccyon' to pleasure; the former to elaborate the text

Who laboureth not to get his lyuynge
Is no worthy here to haue abydyng.

In *The Castell of Labour*, the hero, instead of being an

¹Mr. J. M. Berdan in *Early Tudor Poetry*, New York, 1920, pp. 426-429, gives reasons for believing that Alexander Barclay could not have been the author.

abstraction of courtly love, is a newly married man, who, as he lies sleeping, is attacked by Need, Necessity, Poverty, and Distress; by Thought and Heaviness; by Discomfort and Despair. These furies, having reminded him of his debts and of his new obligations, and having held up to his frightened eyes the spectacle of a life of poverty, reduce him to the black despair that prompts suicide. Fortunately, however, Reason appears, sends away the evil creatures who have fallen upon the young man, and gives him counsels of hope. He must honour God alone and serve him with diligence; he must avoid each mortal sin by cultivating the corresponding virtue. His monitor warns him to choose the virtuous way of diligence which is on the right hand, and carefully to eschew the cursed way upon the left—that is, the way of slothfulness. When Reason has finished her discourse, Wisdom comes in to second and confirm all that she has said. Unhappily, when Wisdom has delivered his speech and departed, the young husband finds himself face to face with other visitants: Deceit, Falsehood, and Usury. Deceit, the master, argues against all the precepts of Reason and Wisdom; it is best to live by craft, he urges. The hero is now sadly perplexed, but soon Wisdom returns to him, and turns his thoughts back to Reason. He declares that he will accept her counsel and utterly forsake Deceit. Reason, who has now returned, expresses her joy in the young man's choice, and once more fortifies him with instruction. When Reason has possessed his mind, he looks up and beholds approaching Good Will, Good Heart, and Lust-to-do-Good. These three amiable creatures promise to convey the youth to a place full of

'pleasaunce,' the castle of labour, wherein he shall find true riches. By the way of diligence they come to the castle gate. Here, however, the author is challenged by the porter, Business, who declares that none may enter the castle gate save by meekness in obeying himself and his wife, Cure. The wife intercedes, and Business consents to admit the suppliant. The now friendly porter gives the hero warning in regard to the severe captain and mistress of the castle, Travail and Pain. The 'auctour' professes his desire to please them. He is then ushered into the castle, where he finds men and women working away so vigorously that the noise of their labour sounds like the roll of thunder. The sight of them, strange as it may seem, whets the young man's appetite for labour. The captain of the castle assigns him a place, and work to do. At this juncture, Pain, the mistress of the castle, comes along, and objects to the presence of the stranger. Her objections are overcome, however, and our hero's goal is won. The rest of the poem, giving his return home, his conversation with his wife, is of little importance so far as the design is concerned. The wife's scoffing attitude of mind and the husband's opinion that

To chat with a woman it is but folly
A man sholde take no hede at all
To whatsoever a woman saye

are worthy of note in their contrast to the courtly sentiments of *The Castell of Pleasure*.¹

The two poems, then, in spite of the similarity of

¹ *The Castell of Labour*, edited by A. W. Pollard for the Roxburghe Club; London, 1905.

scheme, are quite different in tone and purpose. The one represents the courtly tradition; the other is a practical manual of living. They represent two distinct uses of the castle allegory.

As to vocabulary, one immediately sees a great likeness, but not such as to show influence. The vocabulary is that of the literary type and of the period. The verse-form, likewise, although there are certain correspondences, offers nothing that would prove Nevill's use of *The Castell of Labour* as a source.

If *The Castell of Labour* in its English form is not a source it is vain to look to its two French originals. Neither the fourteenth-century poem of Jean Bruyant, *Le Chemin de Povreté et de Richesse*, nor Gringore's late fifteenth-century *Chasteau de Labour* shows any relation save that of design to Nevill's poem.

The case is somewhat different as regards the work of Stephen Hawes; but even here there are no such close relations as one might expect. The statement of Eugen A. Burkart that William Nevill closely imitated Hawes, and that *The Castle of Pleasure* contains many passages almost literally taken over from *The Pastime of Pleasure*¹ can hardly be justified by a careful reading of the two poems. The most striking verbal parallelism to be found appears in the two following passages, in which, indeed, there is one line that is almost identical.

¹Stephen Hawes' *The Pastime of Pleasure*. Critical Introduction to a Proposed New Edition of the Text. Inaugural Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Zürich. London, 1899. See p. 11.

The Pastime of Pleasure

l. 358 ff.

Then to the toure/I drewe nere
and nere

And often mused/of the great
hyghnes

Of the craggy rocke/which quad-
raunt did appeare

But the fayre tower/so moche of
rychesse

Was all about/sexangled doubt-
les,

Gargeylde with grehoundes/and
with many lyons,

Made of fyne golde/with diuers
sundry dragons

The Castell of Pleasure

l. 226 ff.

This royall castell was on eche
syde quadraunt

Gargaled with goodly gre-
houndes & beestes many
one

The tyrannous tygre the stronge
& myghty elephaunt

With a castell on his backe
whiche he bare alone

The lyon's fyry eyes with rubyes
there shone

The golden grephyn with clees
of asure

The unycorne alowe with a
ruffull mone

Stode there as desolate of lyuely
creature

(Compare also l. 2955 ff. and ll. 2554-55 of *The Pastime*.)

It is possible to find other cases of correspondence in phrasing, and there is a good deal of similarity between certain parts. The dialogue in the Tower of Music between Graunde Amoure and La Bell Pucell, for instance, is somewhat like the conversation between Pity and Disdain concerning Desire's suit to Beauty.¹ There is also the correspondence in 'plot' in that Graunde Amoure, who has set out to win La Bell Pucell, succeeds in his enterprise, and that Desire, likewise, woos and wins Beauty. But one has only to recall the character of Hawes' poem to see how slight is the basis of comparison on which to relate to it *The Castell*

¹*The Pastime of Pleasure*, edited by W. E. Mead, E.E.T.S. Original Series, 173 (1928), l. 2052 ff. *The Castell of Pleasure*, l. 562 ff.

of *Pleasure*. In the first place, the scope of *The Pastime of Pleasure* is much wider than that of Nevill's poem; it virtually embraces the whole of life. In the second place, Graunde Amoure's quest of La Bell Pucell is an allegory of courtly education. The only part of the *Castell* relating to such allegory is the appeal to the Lady Eloquence. As a matter of fact, the plan of *The Castell of Labour* is more like that of *The Castell of Pleasure* than is the plan of *The Pastime of Pleasure*.

As for *The Example of Vertue*, the comparison between the perilous bridge and the hazardous stepping stones has been made. It will be observed also that Morpheus is the initial conductor in both pieces. But although Morpheus is not a very usual guide, he is to be found elsewhere—in Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*, for instance.

Still another poem of Stephen Hawes comes in for consideration, however: *The Comforte of Louers*, which, according to the title page, was 'made and compiled' in the second year of the reign of Henry VIII and which now exists in an unique copy printed, presumably in 1510 or 1511, by Wynkyn de Worde. This copy is owned by the Earl of Dysart, who very kindly accorded me the privilege of examining it and comparing it with *The Castell of Pleasure*. It is not unlikely that *The Comforte of Louers* served as Nevill's model. In the first place, it will be remembered that Nevill announced as his purpose in writing *The Castell of Pleasure* 'to comforte them that brenne in louynge fyre,' in other words, to give, if not the comfort of lovers, at least a comfort to lovers. It is highly probable that this line was suggested by the title of Hawes' poem. *The Comforte of*

Louers and *The Castell of Pleasure* are poems of much the same length and scope; both are books of love. Both have the dream setting; in both the hero is conducted to an ideal spot in which he finds his lady. In both he is successful. *The Comforte*, it is true, leaves the answer of the lover's suit to Venus and Fortune, but one infers from his satisfaction that the outcome will be happy. There are marked differences of detail in the two poems; I should not wish to give the impression that the one is the replica of the other; but in scope, quality, design, and purpose, they are very similar.

Some verbal parallelism occurs, though none that could be regarded as proof conclusive that Nevill had used *The Comforte of Louers*. One notices certain turns of phrasing, as in the following lines:

<i>The Comforte of Louers</i>	<i>The Castell of Pleasure</i>
Aii ^b	ll. 346-347
This goodly gardyn / I dyde well beholde	This sayd I was nye the gardyn of affeccyon
When I sawe a place / ryght gay and glorious	Which apperyd to my syght bothe gay and glorious
Aii ^b	l. 235
The wyndowes glased / with crystall precyous	The wyndowes of crystall were well fortyfyed
Aii ^b	l. 221
... place of pleasure ...	... place of pleasure ...
Fourth leaf of A	ll. 410-411
Doute ye no thyng / but god wyll so agre	Doubte ye not but ye shall se thynges pleasaunte
That at the last ye shall your lady se	Yf ye wyll be content to forbere a lytell space

Most striking of all is the fact that in *The Comforte of Louers* occurs verbatim the line which in *The Pastime of Pleasure* gives the surest ground for the theory that Nevill had made use of that poem. It may be worth while to quote side by side the stanza in which this line appears and the corresponding lines from *The Castell of Pleasure*:

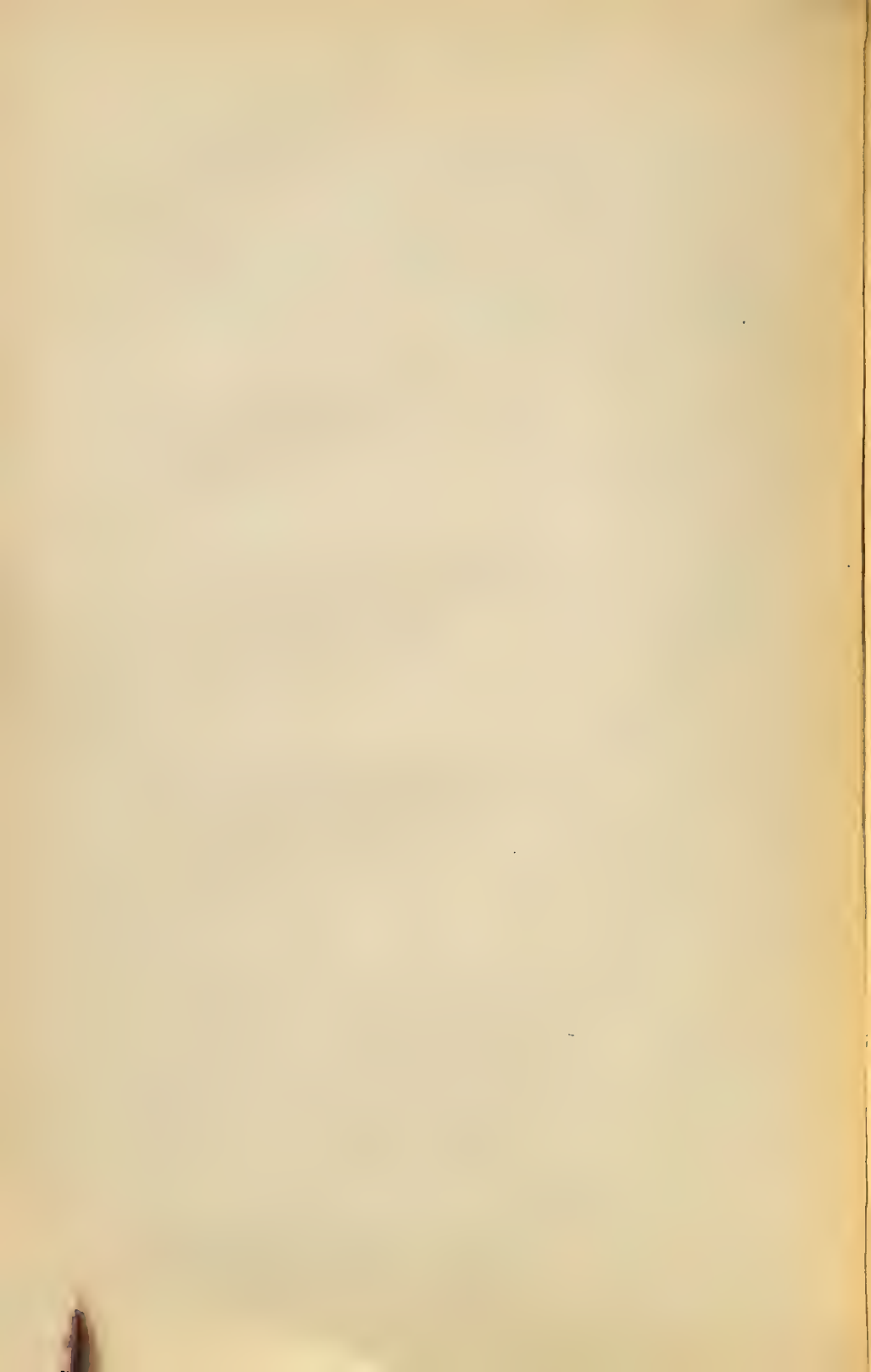
<i>The Comforte of Louers</i>	<i>The Castell of Pleasure</i>
Fifth leaf of A	l. 226 ff.
And now she sayd come on your weye with me	This royall castell was on eche syde quadraunt
Unto a goodly toure whiche is solacyous	Gargaled with goodly grehoundes and beestes many one
Behold it yonder / full of fely- cyte	The tyrannous tygre the stronge and myghty elephaunt
Quadraunt it was / me thought full meruaylous	With a castell on his backe whiche he bare alone
With golden turrets / gaye and glorious	The lyon's fyry eyes with rubyes there shone
Gargaled with greyhoundes / and with many lyons	The golden grephyn with clees of asure
Made of fyne golde with dyuers sondry dragons	The unycorne alowe with a ruffull mone
	Stode there as desolate of lyuely creature

In fairness, however, one must quote also l. 2959 from *The Pastime of Pleasure*:

Gargeylde with beestes in sundry symylytude.

It cannot be denied that Nevill may have derived his line from a combination of the two lines beginning 'gargeylde' in *The Pastime*.

The only safe conclusion is that Nevill knew the work of Stephen Hawes, and made some use of it. Since *The Comforte of Louers* is in spirit and intention more closely akin to *The Castell of Pleasure* than either *The Pastime of Pleasure* or *The Example of Virtue*, one may regard it as likely that it served as a model for 'Master Guillaume's' poem.



III

COPLAND'S LINES

THE dialogue between Copland and the author is of importance in three particulars: it sheds light upon the author; it 'places' the poem as a book of love; it criticises the manners and particularly the tastes of the period. The poet has written studiously and seriously even though he is in the time of 'vyrent youth'; his book is without guile and without other motive than to comfort 'them that brenne in louynge fyre': because it has no manner of subtilty for the getting of lucre, Copland thinks the 'utterance' will be but small. Copland's criticism of the upbringing of the young is of interest in its agreement with that of Sir Thomas Elyot in the *Boke of the Governour*: 'And hit shall be no reproche to a noble man to instruct his owne children, or at the leest wayes to examine them, by the way of daliaunce or solace, considerynge that the emperour Octavius Augustus disdayned not to rede the warkes of Cicero to his children and neuewes. And why shulde not noble men rather so do, than teache their children howe at dyse and cardes, they may counnyngly lese and consume their owne treasure and substaunce?'¹

Copland's envoy in French gives the name of the author and some information about Nevill's manuscript:

Par sa copie souvent iestois constraint
De diuignier / ou lencre cestoit destaint.

¹ Croft Edition, I, London, 1883, pp. 33-34.

The imperfections of the manuscript together with Copland's divining may account for the crabbed constructions that occur from time to time, and for some irregularities of metre. There is no way of estimating accurately Copland's part in the poem; since he took the liberty of adding an envoy in French without consulting Nevill, and since he mentions his struggles with Nevill's written page, it is altogether possible that he edited the poem very considerably.

IV

NEVILL'S VERSIFICATION

THE metre of *The Castell of Pleasure* is irregular. The lines vary greatly in length: in number of syllables and of accents. Most of the lines have eleven syllables or more; but there are lines of nine and ten, there is one line that may have only seven, (l. 258) and there are lines of fifteen and sixteen. Likewise there may be from four to six—in some cases even seven—accents. It is often very difficult to determine the best metrical reading of a line, especially when there is a final *e*, *es*, or *ed* that may or may not be pronounced. That these final syllables were sometimes sounded is shown by such lines as the following (the italicization is mine to show the syllable to be noted):

For Ioye my herte leped I was so fayne (174)
 To that we came to the bankes syde (187)
 Alwaye with fantasy enclosed in her herte (379)
 Of pyramus and Thysbe dystroyed by loues darte (384)
 Outranne all folkes she wolde none abyde (422)
 I can not denye it but shewe it in wordes playne (539).

But such final syllables cannot always be pronounced. In l. 281, for example, it is next to impossible to read *hertes* as two syllables:

That haue mo faces than hertes as dayly is euydent.

Likewise l. 294:

Draweth to hym hertes as I sawe and dyd prepenche.

In l. 593 *wordes* and *herte* must be read as single syllables:

That with unsyttynge wordes ye should his herte thus breke.

To illustrate irregularity in length of line and uncertainty of reading, it will perhaps suffice to quote the stanza beginning with l. 258. The first line may have only seven syllables, although it is possible to read it as having ten; l. 263, on the other hand, with the most economical reading, has fourteen. For the other lines, the number varies from nine to twelve. This stanza furnishes a fairly good index to the metre of the poem as a whole:

- 258 This sayd my mynde mused gretely
Whiche of these wayes I was best to take
Wherby I called to remembraunce shortly
How Hercules of aege but tendre and wake
New at yeres of dyscrecyon his mynde sore brake
263 Whan he sawe two wayes the one of vertue the other of pleasure
And of the nyght it caused hym ryght ofte to wake
Bycause he knewe not the way of pefyte measure.

But although Nevill's verse is so irregular as regards metre, in stanza form it follows a clear design. The balance, not to say symmetry, of the poem proper is extraordinary. After the introductory dialogue between Copland and the author, there are six introductory stanzas of twelve lines each with the rhyme scheme 'ababbcbccddc'; then comes the body of the poem which, with the exception of three seven-lined stanzas spoken by Desire near the end (802-822), is written in octaves rhyming 'ababbcbc'; after the dream action has reached its happy end, the author speaks in six twelve

lined stanzas of the same form as those at the beginning; these are followed by the envoy proper and Copland's envoy, ballade royale, and stanza to the author. Thus the dialogue of the opening is balanced by the envoys and other verses at the end; the six stanzas of narration preceding the pilgrimage to the castle are balanced by the six stanzas giving the author's reflections upon his dream.

For varying the stanza form to suit his purpose, Nevill had precedent enough. The morality plays in some cases had distinctive stanzas for different types of scene and character.¹ But Nevill has not shifted stanzas as an aid to characterization: the three seven-lined stanzas belonging to Desire cannot be supposed to have any significance in this respect, since Desire, in his supplication to Beauty (l. 514 ff.), uses the octave. Narrative poems of the period, however, afford examples of change in verse form which seems to serve no other end than that of pattern. In *The Temple of Glas*, which had been printed several times before 1515,² the author's introduction (ll. 1-320), his further meditations and the Knight's Soliloquy (ll. 531-700), author's commentary (ll. 932-969), and the author's conclusion (ll. 1362-1403), are written in the heroic couplet; the Lady's Bille to Venus, the reply of Venus, the Lady's Thanks to Venus, Venus' Exhortation to the Lady, the Knight's Complaint to Venus, Venus' Answer to the Knight, the Knight's Wooing of the Lady, the

¹For an excellent discussion of this matter, see R. L. Ramsay's introduction to Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. xcvi, p. cxxxiv ff.

²See Schick's introduction to *The Temple of Glas*, E.E.T.S. Ex. Ser. lx, pp. xxv-xxx.

Lady's Answer to the Knight, Venus' Address to the Lady and the Knight, Venus' Address to the Lady and the Knight United, the Glorification of Venus by the Lovers—all these spoken parts, together with a few narrative stanzas connecting them, are in the seven-lined stanza form. Sir Richard Ros introduced his translation of Alain Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans Merci* with four seven-lined stanzas of his own, and concluded with the same number in the same form. Here we have an instance of exact balance between introduction and conclusion, such as we find in *The Castell of Pleasure*. But, of course, if Nevill had seen Sir Richard's translation, he could have seen it only in manuscript, since it was first printed in Thynne's Chaucer, 1532.¹

It is possible that Nevill derived his design from a perusal of the two versions of *The Castell of Labour*. Both employ some combination of the three stanzas used by our poet: the seven-lined stanza rhyming 'ababbcc,' the octave, and the twelve-lined stanza. Except for one stanza, the prologue of the English *Castell of Labour* is in seven-lined stanzas; the greater part of the poem proper is in octaves having the same rhyme scheme as that used by Nevill; one stanza of twelve lines has the same scheme as similar stanzas in *The Castell of Pleasure*; and some of the author's stanzas near the end are of seven lines. Gringore's poem begins with six stanzas of twelve lines, the same number used by Nevill, but of a different rhyme scheme; the poem as a whole is in octaves with the rhyme pattern of Nevill's poem, and near the end some of the stanzas are of seven lines, rhyming 'ababbcc.'

¹ See Skeat's introduction to *Chaucerian & Other Pieces* (1897), p. li.

GRAMMAR

THE CASTELL OF PLEASURE in grammar as well as in vocabulary is on the whole similar to *The Pastime of Pleasure*.¹ The treatment of the nouns shows no peculiarities, but it is of some interest to note (1) the weak genitive, 'for comferte sake' (l. 331), 'my herte rote' (l. 534); (2) the dative in impersonal constructions (ll. 483, 522, 762, 804); (3) the double usage in case of *manner* (*kind*) plus a substantive. For the last one finds the remnant of an old genitive, sometimes called the qualitative genitive,² 'in euery maner case' (l. 2), 'some maner subtylte' (l. 19), and, contrasting with this, the construction that was to supplant it: 'euery maner of state' (l. 37).

The pronouns offer no especially noteworthy peculiarities. As in *The Pastime*, there is no instance of *hie*, *hem*, *her*, *hit* for *they*, *them*, *their*, *it*, respectively; the dialectal, *Iche* and *I cham*, which do occur in *The Pastime* (3510-13) are not to be found here. The second person singular is used by Phœbus addressing Cupid (64-69); by the author apostrophising (1) the mountain of courage (178 ff.), (2) the 'lauer of lowlynes' (210 ff.), (3) 'the castell of pleasure' (290 ff.); elsewhere the plural form is employed, *ye* appearing regularly in the nominative and *you* in the dative and

¹E.E.T.S., Original Series 173, London, 1928. Introduction, p. lxxii ff.

²Leon Kellner: *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*. London, 1892, p. 107. Cf. also the N.E.D., *manner*, sb.¹ 9 and *kin*, sb.¹ 6, b.

accusative. The dative of the pronoun with an impersonal verb occurs in the following instances: 'methynke' (ll. 464, 584, 617, 712, 714, 728); 'methought' (ll. 352, 769, 848); 'it lyketh you' (l. 70). The indefinite pronoun *nothing* is used adverbially (l. 395): 'I nothyng regarded the verses of vyrgyll,' and l. 490: 'Ye knowe well Fantasy that I am nothyng accompanied.' The indefinite pronoun phrases *many a one* and *such a* (or *an*) *one* appear as *many one* and *suche one* (ll. 161, 217, 358, 373, 433, 598, 632, 676, 682).

Lenger is the comparative of *long*, in l. 715 an adjective, in ll. 781 (here spelled *lenge*) and 827 an adverb. *Like* is combined with the verb *to be* and the verb *to have*: l. 316, 'I was like you to begyle' and l. 319, 'I had like to have served you gently.' Compare the two following nineteenth century examples (given in the N.E.D.) of this usage: 'I am like to cry whenever I think of her' (Mrs. Carlyle, *Letters*, II, 241), 'I had like to have said something else' (1873, Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, xxvii, 7). An interesting adverb phrase is 'ryght moche' in l. 274, 'ryght moche pleasaunt.' *Right much*, in the function sometimes of an adjective, sometimes of an adverb, sometimes of an indefinite pronoun, survives to-day in Virginia, as in *I did right much work this morning; I enjoyed the evening right much; I have studied right much to-day*. It is never there used, however, to modify an adjective, as here.

The verbs offer several points of interest. Although the form in *-th* or *-eth* is the regular one for the indicative third singular, *-es* occurs in l. 66, 'becomes,' l. 161, 'troubles,' l. 212, 'delytes,' l. 397, 'abydes,' l. 430, 'workes,' l. 738, 'thynkes,' l. 744, 'trustes.' The verb

to be is treated as follows: *is* proves the regular form for the third person singular present indicative; *be*, for the second plural; *be*, in one instance, *ben*, for the third plural; *are* occurs only three times, *viz.*, ll. 201, 706, 707. In ll. 642, 740, and 745, where modern English usage would call for the indicative, *be* occurs as third singular, but in these lines it is subjunctive.¹ In l. 390 the subjunctive *be* in the first person occurs where modern English would require the indicative. The other forms of *to be* are treated in the main as in the English of to-day. The auxiliary, *do*, *did* is used rather frequently, but the archaic form *gan* does not appear.

The present participles end in *-ynge* or *-enge*, but the ending *-yng* is to be found in ll. 50 and 53. The past participles of weak verbs end in *-ed* or *-t*; a few instances of *-de* and *-te* occur. For the strong past participle the ending is *-en* or *-e*, but in the de Worde text *stand* appears (l. 597) without an ending; the Pepwell print here has *stande*. In both texts *forgot* is used once as the past participle (l. 314). *Forgeten* occurs in l. 394. The past participle of *get* is *goten* throughout. Both *be* and *ben* are found as past participles (*be*, ll. 222, 308, 860; *ben*, ll. 156, 416, 773). *Come* appears as a past participle in l. 334, but *comyn* in ll. 780 and 855, and *comen* in l. 760.

The use of impersonal constructions has been mentioned. With 'it liketh you (l. 70) compare 'Like it your grace,' *Henry VIII*, I, i, 100 (N.E.D.). In ll. 483 and 522, 'Pleaseth your highnes' appears for *May it please your highness*. The form 'methynke' rather than *methinks* may be explained by the following quotation

¹Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik*, Third Edition, II. (Berlin, 1882), pp. 124-125.

from the N.E.D.: 'As THINK *v*¹ did not, exc. in this phrase, survive beyond the 14th c., and had no very wide currency after 1250, the syntax of *methinks* became obscure. Hence it underwent various alterations of form. The verb being supposed to be THINK *v*², it followed that it ought to be in the first person; hence the form *me think*, in which probably the pronoun was still correctly apprehended as a dative.' W. Franz, in his *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, speaks of the two forms, *methink* and *methinks*, as standing together as present indicative in the early modern English period.¹

The use of a singular verb with a plural subject occurs in the following instances: l. 45, 'theyr times is past I gesse'; l. 66, 'These arowes becomes not me'; l. 212, 'All proude people that delytes in doublenes'; l. 316, 'For here the wayes partes'; ll. 395-6,

I nothyng regarded the verses of vyrgyll
Which sayth to hyde colours is but wayne.

l. 399, 'Al thynges as they shewe is not in substaunce'; l. 659, 'For as it is sayd wordes is nothyng but winde.' A plural verb occurs with the subject *many one* in l. 221, 'That in this place of plesure were many a stormy blast'; l. 632, '... as many one do ...' In l. 676, 'So many one hath done as by experyence I can prove,' and in l. 682, 'though many one hath so done,' the singular is used.

Confusion in the sequence of tenses occurs in ll. 362-3, 399-401, 646-649, and confusion in mood and tense in ll. 165-169. There are, indeed, many cases in which the structure is incomplete or confused. In l. 323 the pronoun subject of a noun clause is

¹Heidelberg, 1924, p. 180.

omitted, 'This gentylman which sayth wolde speake with desyre.' Some completing word is needed in l. 192, 'To dystroye chaungeable and peple oppressed with pryde,' and in l. 555, 'Moste I can saye is that ye shall be my moste conforthe.' Many awkward inversions of word order appear in the poem; for instance, l. 78, 'It to resiste he was weyke and unable'; l. 170, 'Whan I aduerted of these galeryes the quadraunt fashion'; l. 473, 'That ye have put it of so long meruell haue I.'

Never in the poem proper, I believe, is the structure so involved as to baffle interpretation. But one of Copland's stanzas is extremely difficult, namely, the first stanza of his lines to the author. The meaning of the passage as a whole finally becomes clear, but who shall say what is the subject of *Concerneth* (l. 6)? Some lines of Copland's French are a bit hard to understand, especially ll. 954-956. Does 'sinon par vostre suffrance' modify 'De moy indigne'? Apparently it does, although it is not easy to see how young William's tolerance will make the work less unworthy of Copland.



VI
EDITIONS

SO far as is known, William Nevill's poem, *The Castell of Pleasure*, exists in only two copies, one of which is owned by the British Museum, the other, by the Henry Huntington Library. The former, which is actually the later in date, is shown by the colophon to have been printed by Henry Pepwell at the Sign of the Trinity in Paul's Churchyard, in 1518; the latter, by the evidence of its colophon, was 'Enprynted at London in the Flete strete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde.'

In the second case no date is given. How, then, can it be asserted that this is the earlier printing? Wynkyn de Worde continued as an active printer until shortly before his death in 1535. But quite apart from external considerations, there is one bit of internal evidence that seems conclusive. In the Wynkyn de Worde issue occurs the following stanza¹:

This royall castell was on eche syde quadraunt
Gargaled with goodly grehoundes & beestes many one
The tyrannous tygre the stronge & myghty elephaunt
The castell on his backe whiche he bare alone
230 The lyon's fyry eyes with rubyes then shone
The golden grephyn with clees of asure
The unycorne alowe with a rufull mone
Stode there as desolate of lyvely creature.

The corresponding stanza of the Pepwell print is one

¹Ll. 226-233.

line short: ll. 231 and 232 have been telescoped. Pepwell's reading for the two is: 'The golden grephyn with rufull mone.' If no other copy of the poem existed, this line would require a good deal of explanation.¹ A 'rufull mone' does not befit the splendour of the golden grephyn, whereas it is quite in character for the unicorn. The stanza form in this part of the poem demands eight lines rhyming 'ababbcbc.' One still might ask, however, whether the original may not have been defective and whether Wynkyn de Worde, or his compositor, may not have been exercising an editorial function. To this hypothetical question the answer is that nowhere else in the two texts of the poem is there any important difference such as would suggest use of different manuscripts, or recourse to the editor's privilege of improving his original. The Pepwell print runs page for page, signature for signature, with the de Worde edition. The textual variants are almost entirely mere matters of spelling. The small number of verbal differences would give no support to an argument for the priority of Pepwell's text.² Even if they were of significance in that regard, it would be difficult to believe that the person responsible for de Worde's text would in a single instance take upon himself to make one line into two; on the other hand, nothing is easier than to understand the telescoping as an ordinary printer's error. The eye of

¹The ingenious explanation that Miss E. P. Hammond gives in her anthology of fifteenth century poetry becomes unnecessary. (*English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*. London, and Durham, North Carolina, 1927, p. 497, note on l. 183.)

²Verbal differences occur in the following lines (numbered in the de Worde text): 34, 63, 86, 392, 468, 554, 565, 620. In 392 the substitution in *Pepwell* of *certayne* for *entertayne* spoils the sense.

the compositor simply dropped from the *with* in l. 231 to the same word in l. 232. The matter is too obvious for further demonstration.

Another question arises, however, as soon as one looks at the poem. The prologue, which in both texts is headed 'Coplande the printer to the auctor,' takes the form of a dialogue between Copland and the poet; the envoy is in both cases 'Lenuoy de Robert Coplande lymprimeur'; the last words before the colophon are, in each instance, 'Quod Coplande.' A plausible inference from these facts would be that there were altogether three issues of the poem: the first from the press of Copland, the second, from that of Wynkyn de Worde, and the third from that of Pepwell. Like many inferences, however, this seems not to afford the correct index to the truth.¹ What appears more likely when one looks into the relations of the printers concerned, is that after Copland became a book printer in 1515 he undertook the publication of Nevill's poem, but that the actual printing was done by Wynkyn de Worde's press. Copland had been translator and literary helper to Wynkyn de Worde, a sort of editor, says Mr. Plomer, before 1500; after he had set up his own shop in 1514 under the sign of the Rose Garland, and had, in 1515, become not only a bookseller, but a printer as well, he seems to have retained the friendliest relations with his former master.² *The Castell of Pleasure* is not the only work to claim Copland as printer, and

¹ See H. R. Plomer's *Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries from the Death of Caxton to 1535. A Chapter in English Printing*. London, 1925. See especially pp. 179, 189, 190, 191.

² See *Plomer, op. cit.*, p. 179; pp. 189-191.

yet to bear the imprint of the Sign of the Sun. *The Boke of the Justices of the Peace*, Copland's first work as a printer, is said in the colophon to have been printed at the Sunne.¹ *The Mirror of the Church*, which appeared in 1521, also has de Worde's colophon, although Copland is named in the opening verses as the printer.² Of *The Castell of Pleasure* Mr. Plomer writes: "Thus in 1518, Henry Pepwell, a printer at the sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard, issued an edition of William Nevile's *Castle of Pleasure*. It commences with a poem headed "Copland the prynter to the author." If Copland had printed the book for Pepwell we could understand his reference to himself as the printer; but if the book was printed by Pepwell, as stated in the colophon, then the only conclusion is that it was a reprint of an edition printed by Copland, either on his own behalf or for Wynkyn de Worde. The poem begins with the author's words, "Emprynt this boke Coplande at my request." If he had taken the manuscript to de Worde's office in Fleet Street or to Pepwell's in St. Paul's churchyard, why should he have appealed to Copland to print it?"³ It is now clear, indeed, from a comparison of the two texts that Pepwell simply reprinted the Copland- de Worde edition of the poem.

That Copland undertook the printing of the book while still in the office of Wynkyn de Worde seems unlikely, for in 1514, the year in which he seems to have begun business for himself, William Nevill was

¹ *Plomer, op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

² *Plomer, op. cit.*, p. 191.

³ *Loc. cit., supra.*

only seventeen years old.¹ In all probability, some time between 1515, the year in which Copland is said to have become an independent printer, and 1518, the year in which Pepwell's edition of *The Castell of Pleasure* appeared, the young poet took his 'book of love' to Copland and prevailed upon him to accept it, and Copland then turned it over to the press of Wynkyn de Worde. If this interpretation of the data we possess be correct, the two extant copies represent the only two editions of the poem ever published. That the Copland-Wynkyn de Worde edition is the earlier is not open to reasonable doubt.

The Pepwell print forms part of the Grenville collection in the British Museum, which collection, it will be remembered, is the library of Thomas Grenville, bequeathed by its owner to the Museum. Upon the death of Thomas Grenville in 1846 his books were at once turned over to the Museum, and were actually received there in February, 1847.² This copy of the poem had belonged to Thomas Caldecott, and had been bought at the sale of the Caldecott Library in 1833 by Thorpe (probably Thomas Thorpe) for the sum of £28. 10s.³ From whom Caldecott bought the book, however, and whether Thorpe sold it to Grenville I have not discovered.

¹See Ashmolean MS. 837 (Bodleian Library), 177b. The record of Richard Nevill's children was printed by Dr. Bandinel in *Collectanea Typographica*, II (1835), 174.

²See Edward Edwards' *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*. Part II. London, 1870, pp. 680-685.

³See Lowndes' *Manual*, II (London, 1864) under Nevil, William. See also Sotheby's Catalogue of Thomas Caldecott's Library, sold at auction beginning Dec. 9th, 1833: Fourth Day, No. 915 (p. 49 of the catalogue).

Concerning the early history of the de Worde copy, Mr. C. K. Edmonds of the Henry Huntington Library writes as follows: 'The volume containing this piece would appear to have come to light between 1785 and 1790. At least Herbert did not seem to know of it when his first volume was printed in 1785, as otherwise these pieces printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Notary, and Pynson would have been included. Most, if not all, of them are described in the Corrections and Additions in Herbert's final volume, published in 1790. (*The Castell of Pleasure* at p. 1780.)

'This volume containing " . . . 12 very rare and ancient pieces of Poetry . . ." (Farmer sale catalogue) apparently passed into the hands of the Duke of Roxburghe; was broken up, and each of the twelve pieces bound separately . . .'

The de Worde copy was sold from the library of the Reverend Richard Farmer on the twenty-seventh day of the sale which began May 7th, 1798. According to a marginal note written in a copy of the catalogue owned by Mr. F. Marcham, the book was purchased on this occasion by Nicol for the Duke of Roxburghe.¹ On the fifteenth day of the famous Roxburghe sale in 1812, it was bought by Dibdin (presumably T. F. Dibdin, the bibliographer) for £65.² I find no note,

¹ A Catalogue of the Curious, Valuable and Extensive Library...of the late Revd. Richard Farmer, D.D....Which will be sold by Mr. King... Monday, May 7, 1798, and the thirty-five following days. See p. 496. For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Marcham.

² A Catalogue of the Library of the late John, Duke of Roxburghe, arranged by G. and W. Nicol. On Monday, 18th May, 1812, and the Forty-one following Days . . . by Robert H. Evans. See p. 96, No. 3284, and for the price and purchaser, the interleaved MS. page opposite, British Museum copy.

however, concerning this book in Evans' sale catalogue of Dibdin's books, February 11th, 1822. In the Evans catalogue of the sale of the 'Splendid, Curious and Extensive Library of the late Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, Bart.' at the auction beginning May 11th, 1824, Part I, No. 590, it is stated that 'this Poetical curiosity was purchased by Sir M. M. Sykes at the sale of the Roxburghe Library.' It would seem, then, that Dibdin either had bought the book for Sir M. M. Sykes or had sold it to him shortly after his own purchase. From the Sykes Library, it passed to Thorpe for £31.

In 1834 this same copy was bought for £22 from Richard Heber's Library by Thomas Thorpe.¹

Major Herbert Collman, of Sotheby and Company, informs me that Thomas Thorpe bought the book for W. H. Miller, the founder of the Britwell Court Library, and that Thorpe described the book in his uncompleted MS. catalogue of this library.

In 1923 the de Worde print again came into the auction room. It is given a conspicuous place in Sotheby's catalogue of the books sold from the Britwell Court Library in March, 1923; the description is accompanied by a full-page illustration, a facsimile of the title page.² On the first day of the auction, it was

¹A Catalogue of Heber's Collection of Early English Poetry, the Drama, Ancient Ballads, and Broad-sides . . . with notices by J. Payne Collier, Esq. and Prices and Purchasers' Names. Dec. 8th and 14 Following Days, Evans, 1834, Part II. See No. 1599.

²See catalogue of the sale beginning March 12th, 1923, p. 16.

sold to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.¹ Later it was acquired by the Henry Huntington Library.

For a century both prints of *The Castell of Pleasure* have been described as 'thought to be unique.' The Pepwell copy was sufficiently esteemed to be named in the heading as 'Among the more rare and curious Black Letter volumes' in the Caldecott catalogue. From the time of the Roxburghe sale, the de Worde print has been described as bound in morocco with gilt leaves. By the time of the Sotheby sale of the Britwell Court Library, the binding had acquired the arms of the Duke of Roxburghe and those of Sir M. M. Sykes. In most of the sale catalogues to which reference has been made, an adequate description is given, and, as has been remarked, in the Sotheby catalogue of March 12th, 1923, an entire illustrative page is devoted to a facsimile of the de Worde woodcut. Whether or not one regards the poem as of great literary value, the two extant copies, each the unique representative of its edition, have been collector's items for at least a hundred years.

¹See *Book Prices Current*, October, 1922-August, 1923, under *Castell of Pleasure*.

For references to the various catalogues, see that invaluable work, *List of English Book Sales, 1676-1900* (London, 1915). Some references to purchasers and prices are given in *Lowndes*, and in *Brunet*.

VII

THE WOODCUT IN THE DE WORDE PRINT

THE woodcut, exclusive of the conventional border, is made up of three figures: a castle labelled 'Pleasure'; a woman called 'Beaute'; and a man, 'Desyre.' It will be noticed that these figures are virtually of the same height, and that they are quite independent of each other; there can be no doubt that they were made from separate blocks. According to Messrs. E. Droz and A. Piaget, a German printer, Johann Grüninger, of Strassburg, had invented the use of separate blocks for the different figures of a scene, and Antoine Vêrard had adopted this convenient device.¹

Antoine Vêrard, when he used this method in his *Thérance en françois*, seems to have set a style, as well as actually to have provided models for much of the illustration in English printed books of the sixteenth century. The figures that one meets again and again were made from what Mr. McKerrow says may 'be termed "factotum wood-blocks" which are derived from the illustrations of the *Therence en françois* printed at Paris by Antoine Vêrard in or about 1500.' Of these blocks, Mr. McKerrow further writes as follows: 'Once introduced into England they became very popular

¹ See the introduction to *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, II (Paris, 1925): *Société des anciens textes français*, pp. 31-32.

among printers and a number of copies more or less exact were made, many printers seeming to have sets of their own and some to have several blocks of the same figure. The fact that they might be used to represent almost anybody by inserting the necessary description in the scroll would naturally render them very convenient for the illustration of cheaply got up books or of those not sufficiently important to call for the cutting of special illustrations. We find them so used in a large number of works besides *Youth*, as for example, in *Hyckescorner*, **Jack Juggler*, and *Everyman*.¹

The original of Beauty, indeed, was evidently a favourite with Vêrard: in the *Thérance en françois*,² she appears no less than twenty-five times, and in *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, she appears six times. Desire in his present form is not to be found in the *Thérance*, but the figure from which he was obviously derived is frequently to be met there. As Mr. Pollard says of a cruder form of the same figure in *Hyckescorner* and of Buongrace of *Jack Juggler*, Desire is really a reverse copy of Vêrard's cut that appears as Pamphilus and as various other personages in *Thérance*, and as 'l'amant' in *Le Jardin de Plaisance*.³ Wherever his form and posture originated,

¹ See the introduction to W. Bang and R. B. McKerrow's edition of the *Enterlude of Youthe*, in *Materialen zur Kunde des alteren englischen Dramas*, Bd. 12, Louvain, 1905, pp. xvi. and xvii. Facsimile given.

² *Thérance en françois*. The British Museum has a very fine copy of this exceedingly rare work (G. 9756).

³ 'Some Notes on English Illustrated Books.' *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VI, Part I (1901), 36-40. Reproductions of figures in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of *Hyckescorner*, p. 38, given.

he is to be found somewhat altered, in *Everyman*,¹ in *Youth*,² in *The Pastime of Pleasure*,³ and no doubt in many other places. A cut evidently modelled after, though not an exact copy of the block of Vérard's that seems to have been the original of Beauty is to be found in Pynson's print of the *Kalender of Shepherds*,⁴ 1506, and, in a cruder form as late as 1566, when she appears as the ill-starred Mother Waterhouse.⁵ She appears also as one of the figures at the head of the Lambeth fragment of the *Enterlude of Youth*.⁶

There is a different woodcut in the Pepwell print, not a block composition, but a page cut. I have not found it elsewhere, but since it shows four horsemen facing each other in pairs, it was clearly not made for this poem. No horse appears in *The Castell of Pleasure*.

¹The B.M. *Everyman*, Huth 32. This copy bears neither colophon nor date, but it has the device of Jonn Scott on the verso of the last page of the text.

²See Bang and McKerrow's edition of the *Enterlude of Youth*.

³See Mead's edition for the E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser. No. 173, pp. 203 and 205. These cuts are from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1517, but Professor Mead in his 'Notes on the Woodcuts,' p. cxv, says the knight of 203 has his head inclined to the left instead of to the right of the reader in the de Worde print of 1509. The knight of 205 is the same as of 203.

⁴This book may be seen in the British Museum (G 10246). See sig. Dij.

A reproduction of this cut is to be seen in a paper by Mr. G. J. Gray: 'William Pickering, the Earliest Bookseller on London Bridge,' 1556-1571, *Transactions of the Biographical Society*, IV (1896-1898), p. 85.

⁵The original is in *The Ende and Confession of Mother Waterhouse*, Lambeth Palace Library, xxx, 8. 11 (3).

⁶See Bang and McKerrow's edition cited above. Reproduction given.



VIII

THE AUTHOR OF
THE CASTELL OF PLEASURE

FOR more than three centuries the historians of literature have let William Nevill rest in oblivion. Those who have concerned themselves about *The Castell of Pleasure* and its author have been content to accept the meagre account given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* without making any effort to add to it. The chief printed sources of information regarding this almost forgotten Tudor gentleman are *The Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* and Olive M. Moger's article, 'Persnore St. Andrew with Bricklehampton, Defford, Pensham, Pinvin, and Wick' in the *Victoria County History of Worcester*.¹ In the latter are assembled references to the greater part of the original documents quoted or cited in this study.

To go into the history of William Nevill's family would demand more pages than are at my disposal. The name itself, Nevill, suggests even to the uninitiated a very considerable background of social and political history. Perhaps the first representative of this distinguished family to come to mind is Richard Nevill, the famous earl of Warwick, the King-Maker. He was the grandson of William Nevill's great-great-grandparents, namely, Ralph, Lord Nevill of Raby and first earl of Westmoreland, and his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt. The author of *The Castell*

¹Vol. iv, London, 1924, pp. 168-170.

of *Pleasure*, then, as well as his renowned kinsman was descended from John of Gaunt, and through him from Edward III.

Without dwelling upon the early renown of the Nevill family, one may proceed to consider William Nevill's immediate ancestry. George Nevill, fifth son of Ralph Nevill of Raby—third son of Joan, the second wife of Ralph—was summoned to Parliament in 1431 as Baron Latimer of the second creation. His wife was Elizabeth, third daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and, for the last two years of his life, Regent of France. Their son and heir, Sir Henry Nevill, was slain at the battle of Edgcote in 1469. Since he died in the lifetime of his father, he did not bear the title Lord Latimer, but his son by his wife Joan, daughter of Sir John Bouchier, Baron Berners, succeeded to the baronage. This son, Richard, married Ann, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, Yorkshire. Of their large family the first son, John, inherited the title. William was the second son.¹

¹For the glories of the Nevills, see Gough MS. Gen. Topog. 30 (Bodleian Library); MS. Bodley Add. 134; Harleian MS. 3882 f. 309f.; Daniel Rowland's book on the Nevill family (London, 1830), pp. 1-4; H. J. Swallow's *De Nova Villa* (London, 1885), p. 140.

For more specific information, see Ashmolean MS. 837, f. 177b; Tanner MS. 257 (Bodleian Library), ff. 102-106; Harleian MSS. 853, f. 118; 3882. See the D.N.B.; T. R. Nash's *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, I (1799); Daniel Rowland's *Account of the Noble Family of Nevill* (London, 1830); Sir T. C. Banks' *Baronia Anglica Concentrata*, I (1844), p. 275; G. E. Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*, under *Latimer*; Henry James Swallow's *De Nova Villa* (London, 1885), p. 160 ff.; Francis, Lord Latymer's *Well* (London, 1922); O. B.'s *Our Oldest Families: the Nevills, the Ancestor*, number vi (July, 1903); Thomas Horsfall's *The Manor of Well and Snape* (Leeds, 1912). There are many other MSS. and printed books containing material on the Nevills. I have listed here some of the more important.

Of the life of Richard Nevill, second Lord Latimer of the second creation, a good deal is known. His career is conveniently summed up by Francis, Lord Latimer, in his book on Well. He writes as follows:

‘Richard, the 2nd Baron Latimer, was also a great soldier. He held a command in the Royal forces at the battle of Stoke in 1487, and he was a leader in the army raised by the Earl of Surrey to repel the invasion of the Scots under their King James IV, in 1497, in support of Perkin Warbeck. But the most memorable incident in his life was his having fought in the vanguard in the field of Flodden in 1513. He married Anne daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, by whom he had nineteen children. One of his daughters Margaret, married Edward, son of Lord Willoughby de Broke, thus composing a dispute concerning the barony of Latimer which arose during her father’s lifetime. He signed in 1530 the celebrated letter addressed by “the Spiritual and Temporal Lords of England to Pope Clement VII, praying him to consent to the King’s desires and pointing out the evils which arose from delaying the divorce of Queen Catherine.” He died the same year, and like his grandfather, is buried (with his wife) in Well Church; probably in the Nevill vault, the great slab in the chancel already mentioned having in all likelihood, borne their brasses of memorial.’¹

Snape Castle in the North Riding of Yorkshire was the seat of the lords Latimer of the second creation. It may have been built by George Nevill, first Lord Latimer of this family; in any case, it was inherited from

¹ *Well* (1922), pp. 35, 36.

him, with the manors of Well and Snape, in due succession, by the three following lords Latimer. William Nevill's father, Richard, second Lord Latimer, died at Snape Castle in 1530. In all probability William Nevill was born there.¹

Up to this time it has generally been taken for granted that the date of Henry Pepwell's issue of *The Castell of Pleasure*, namely, 1518, affords the one definite landmark in William Nevill's life. Oddly enough, however, the date of his birth has been in print since 1834. In that year, Dr. Bandinel published in *Collectanea Topographica* from Ashmolean MS. 837 (fol. 177) the names and dates of birth of Richard Nevill, Lord Latimer's children.² According to this document, William, who was the fourth child and the second son, was born in July, 1497.³ This date is to be compared with that given in a record to be found in the Star Chamber Proceedings of Henry VIII. Here one reads as the heading: 'William Nevyle, esquier of thage of xxxiii sworn and examynde this xix of May anno xxiii upon interrogacione to him mynistred by Sir Adryan ffortescue.'⁴ Henry VIII came to the throne

¹For an account of *Snape and Well*, see *The Victoria History of the County of York, North Riding*, I (London, 1914), p. 348 ff.

Authorities are not in agreement as to who the actual builder of Snape Castle was.

²II (1835), p. 174. The Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS. in the Bodleian Library gives the date of Dr. Bandinel's article as June, 1834. The date of the bound volume is 1835.

³Will^m was borne the xvth day of July, beinge saterday anno domini Mⁱ. iiii^c. iiii^{xx}. xvii.'

Only fifteen children are named in this document, but in some accounts it is stated that Richard and Anne Nevill had nineteen children.

⁴S.C.P. Hen. VIII, Bundle 22, No. 149. (P.R.O.) (*St. Ch.* 2: 22: 149.)

in April, 1509. May, of the twenty-third year, then, would be May, 1531. Since Nevill was born in July, he would have been thirty-four in July of this same year. To get the date of his birth, we may subtract thirty-four rather than thirty-three from 1531, by which procedure we get 1497. It seems safe to accept this as the date of our poet's birth.

From a statement made by one Thomas Wood,¹ it would appear that on a certain occasion, William Nevill had referred to a time when he and 'Master Cromwell' were servants in Cardinal Wolsey's house. We know that Wolsey had a large number of retainers in his house,² and we know also that in the early sixteenth century the houses of great lords and noblemen were centres of courtly education.³ It is possible, then, that our poet's education, which was obviously no mean one for a gentleman of the period, came chiefly from his experience as a member of the illustrious cardinal's household. I find no record of his having studied at either University.

Concerning William Nevill's later life there are various records. He had been married before April 1,

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 72, 206-207. For a summary of this letter, see the printed calendar of the *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, V, No. 1679(4).

² See George Cavendish's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (*New Universal Library*), p. 24, and Ernest Law's *Cardinal Wolsey at Hampton Court*, London, 1923, p. 54. Mr. Law writes: 'The estimates given of the number of his retainers are various, but we shall be safe within the mark if we put them down as consisting of at least 500 persons.'

³ See Ernest Law, *loc. cit. supra*: 'Among these [Wolsey's retainers] were many lords and gentlemen of the first families in England, who, according to custom of that age, took up their residence with the great ecclesiastics for the political and educational advantages thereby to be gained.'

Henry VIII 19, to Elizabeth Wye, widow of Richard Wye, and daughter and heir of Sir Giles Grevill.¹

William and Elizabeth Nevill had a son, Richard, who outlived his cousin John, fourth Lord Latimer, and who, since his cousin had left no male issue, styled himself Lord Latimer. Neither he nor his son, Edmund, however, was ever officially recognized as Lord Latimer. Of William's two daughters, Mary and Susan, we know nothing save that they received a small bequest from their uncle, John, the third Lord Latimer of the second creation.²

From his father, William had 'a lytle land for terme of lyfe' at Southcorney in Gloucestershire.³ By his

¹This is shown by records of the Star Chamber Proceedings of Henry VIII, in which it is stated that Elizabeth had married William Nevill before the death of her father, and that Sir Giles had died either the last day of March or the first day of April in the nineteenth year of Henry VIII's reign. (See Bundle 24, No. 116). 'The answers of William Nevile esquire and Elizabeth his wyf to the bill of complaynt of Sir Adrian Fortescue and Dame Anne his wyf . . . and after the seid Rychard Wye in the lyf of the seid Ser Gylis maryed and toke to husbond the same William Nevile, and after that ys to say in the first day of Aprile in the XIXth yere of the reigne of our souereigne lord the kynge that now ys the seid Sir Gylis Grevill dyed . . .' See also Bundle 25, No. 4. Here Robert Grevill testifies that Sir Giles died the last day of March in the nineteenth year of Henry VIII. In the record of the inquisition post mortem (Chan. Inq. P.M., Ser. II, 47, No. 63) the date of Sir Giles's death is given as April 1st, Henry VIII, 19. (P.R.O.)

²See Harleian MS. 853, f. 118; G.E.C.: *Complete Peerage* (Latimer); for John, Lord Latimer's will, see Chan. Ser. II (c. 142), vol. lxx, No. 81, and Thomas Horsfall's *The Manor of Well and Snape*, pp. 51-53.

Edmund Nevill, the grandson of William, brought suit for the earldom of Westmoreland, but was unsuccessful. See H. J. Swallow's *De Nova Villa*, pp. 154-158, and Sir Edward Coke's *Reports*, Part VII: 'Nevil's Case.'

³See William's *Deposition in the State Papers of Henry VIII*: S.P.1, §72: ff. 200-203. (P.R.O.) Whether he had other holdings from his father, I do not know. The records that I have found concern those that came to him by his wife's right.

marriage with Elizabeth Grevill Wye, he acquired titles to certain manors in Worcestershire and in Gloucestershire. Concerning one of the latter, we find what was perhaps the beginning of his troubles at law set down in a letter to Thomas Cromwell written from 'Wyke' on a mid-Lent Sunday, and dated in the printed calendar of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, March 7th, 1529. Here Nevill writes: 'I have caused entre to be made in peaseable maner into such lands as my lady grevill occupieth that I do clayme in my wyfes right and have taken an accion ageyn her for her entre upon my possession ageyn I doubt nothyng but the indifferency of Sir Anthony poyntz the Sheriffe of Gloce tour.'¹

The next record in point of time may well be quoted in full from the Close Rolls:

This indenture made the xxvth daye of May in the xxii^{to} yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the eight by the grace of god of England and of fraunce kyng defender of the faith and lorde of Ireland betwene Willyam Nevile Esquier secunde son of Sir Richard Nevile knyght nowe Lord Latimer and Elizabeth wyfe of the same Willyam Nevile and before wyfe to Richard Wye decessyd and daughter and heyre of Sir Giles Grevile knight dicessed of the one partye and ffraunces Dawtrie esquier [of] the other partye Witnessith that for and in consideracion that before this tyme the sayd Willyam Nevile hath caused to be made ouer to the sayed Elizabeth manors londes and tenementes to the yerely value of xl markys for terme of her lyfe in the name of her jointour and for the great love favour and affeccion that the sayed Elizabeth beryth her sayed husbond And for the auancement and preferrement of Richard Nevile son and heyr apparaunt of the sayed Willyam and Elizabeth and of his heyres And for somoch as the sayed Willyam Nevile hath heretofore susteyned and is lyke to susteyn great costes charges

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. iv, No. 5360. S.P. 1: 53, p. 103. (P.R.O.)

and expenses in and aboute as well dyuers accions commensed at the sute of the same William and Elizabeth for the opteignyng of *certeyn* londes of thenheritaunce of the sayed Elizabeth as also for and in defense of dyuers accions and sutys commensed by dyuers persons ayenst the sayed Willyam and Elizabeth as executryce to Richard Wye dissesid by reason whereof the sayed Willyam ys and shalbe like to be indettyd yn great *sommes* of money And for dyuers other great and urgent consideracions It is agreed bargeyned covenauanted and graunted betwene the sayed partyes yn *maner* and fourme folowyng that is to saye the sayed Willyam and Elizabeth bargeyn and covenaut to and with the sayed ffraunces Dawtrie that the sayed ffraunces shall from hensforth haue to hym and to his heyres all and synguler the *manors* londes tenementys rentys reuercions *seruyces* and other hereditamentys yn Wyke nere *pershore* and thadvouson of the Church or fre Chapell of the same *manor* and xxx meases D acres of lond xl acres of medowe lx acres of pasture xx^{ti} acres of wood syx pounce rent with thappurtenaunces yn Wyke Pyndevyn Wyrepedull Pepulton Castlemorton *Pershore* Stulton Birlingham & Scarletmynty in the Counte of Worceteur The *manor* of lasshebarowe with thaduouson of the Church theyr And all other londys and tenementes in Newington bagepath with all and singuler ther appurtenauncys yn the Countye of Gloucetour Which late were the sayed Sir Gyles yn possession reuercyon or use to haue and to hold to the sayed ffraunces and his heyres foreuer to the use of the same Willyam and Elizabeth for *terme* of both theyr lyves and the longer liver of them without ympechement of any *maner* of waste / And after the death of the longer liver of them to the use of William Nevile and of his heyres and to the *perfourmaunce* of his last wyll / And the sayed William and Elizabeth covenauenten and graunten to and with the sayed ffraunces that the same Willyam and Elizabeth shall before the ffeiste of all Seints next *commyn*g suffer the sayed ffraunces Dawtrie Thomas Inchelarde Thomas Edwyn and William Watson to recouer by wrytt of entre in le poste all the sayed *manors* londes and tenementes ageynst the sayed Willyam and Elizabeth yn such *maner* and fourme as shalbe advysed by the counsell lernyd of the sayed ffraunces Dawtrie to the uses and yntentys beforesayed / And ouer that yt is covenauanted graunted and agreed betwene the sayed partyes that for the further assuraunce of all the sayed *manors* londys and tenementes to the uses and intentes before

sayed that after the sayed recouerye so had and made & before the ffeist of Seint Andrewe next comyng the sayed Willyam and Elizabeth shall lawfully and yn due and lawfull fourme knowlege by fyne all the sayed manors londes and tenementys to be the right of the sayed ffraunces Dawtrie Thomas Inchelarde Thomas Edwyn and William Watson as that the sayed ffraunces Dawtrie Thomas Thomas *[sic]* and William Watson shall then haue of theyr gyfte / And the same fyne to be levyed with Warauntye of the sayed Elizabeth ayenst all men and to be also levyed yngrocyd and had with proclamacyons accordyng to the fourme of the estatute *provided* for fynes to be levyed with *proclamacyons* / And yt ys covenanted graunted and agreed betwene the sayed partyes that all parsons that now be or hereafter shalbe seasyd of all and synguler the *premysse*s and all *maner* of assuraunce that shalbe devysed had or done towchyng or concernyng the *premysse*s shall from hensforth be to the use and intentys conteyned withyn these *present* Indentures and for the assuraunce of the same / In wytnes wherof the sayd partyes to thys Indentures entrechaungeably have putte theyr seales yeven the daye and yere ffirste aboue wrytten.¹

This long record has been given in full for the light which it sheds upon William Nevill's life and affairs. It shows that the unfortunate principal of this biographic sketch was by 1530 deeply involved in litigation and that he expected to be so involved for some time to come. It also indicates the extent of the properties to which William and Elizabeth had some claim: important holdings in Worcestershire, certainly, in which county nine manors are named, and not inconsiderable lands in Gloucestershire. When one reflects upon the 'dyuers accions' at law referred to, however, one fears that the Nevills got little joy from their inheritance.

The manor of Lashborough must be the one to which reference is made in the letter to Cromwell,

¹Close Rolls, Henry VIII, 22, No. 35. (P.R.O.) (C, 54: 399). In quoting this record, and passages from other records, I have italicised the letters supplied in expanding abbreviations.

quoted above, for Lady Grevill seems to have gone there from Wick ('Wyke') shortly after the death of Sir Giles Grevill and to have remained there until her marriage to Sir Adrian Fortescue.¹ After this marriage it would seem from various depositions² that she went elsewhere to live, but that she and Sir Adrian still regarded Lashborough as their property. On the thirteenth of October, Henry VIII, 22, however, William and Elizabeth Nevill asserted what they considered their rights by making entry into the said manor. How they made entry became an important point at issue in the proceedings against them. They testified in the Star Chamber trial that they made entry in a peaceable manner 'without any force or ryot and wythout any more company then the *seruaunts* of the said William and Elizabeth of suche conuenient number as the same William and Elizabeth laborynge together by the hyghe waes be and have been used to haue.'³ Sir Adrian and Dame Anne, on the other hand, in their bill of complaint described the entry of the Nevills in the following terms:

the xiiith day of this present moneth of October last paste oon Willyam Nevyle Esquire and Elizabeth his wiffe and diuers other personys to the nombre of xii & aboue with the seid William Nevile and his seid wiffe and by theyr *procurement* unlawfully assembled ryottously & with

¹ Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII, Bundle 28, No. 4: Testimony of Robert Grevill in the case of Fortescue vs. Nevill concerning the manor of Lashborough. (*St. Ch.* 2: 28: 4.) (P.R.O.)

² S.P.C. Henry VIII, Bundle 28, No. 35. (*St. Ch.* 2: 28: 35.) (P.R.O.)

³ Star Chamber Proceedings of Henry VIII, Bundle 24, No. 116. 'The answers of William Nevile esquire and Elizabeth his wyf to the bill of complaynt of Syr Adrian Fortescue and Dame Anne his wyf.' (*St. Ch.* 2: 24: 116.) (P.R.O.)

force thatt is to sey with Swords Buckelers Bowes Arrowes bills and other wepons defensyue & *with* lyke ryottouse and forcyble *maner* the seid xiii day of October dyd entre into the cheffe & capytall mesnage of the seid manour / And then & there the dorrs & lockes of the seid capitall mesnage and chambours of the same with force and armys violently dyd Braste uppe and the goods cattalls Iuelles & Implements of howsehold of your seid Orator then and theyre founde vyolently & with lyke force dyd take dispoyle waste & distroye.¹

To this charge William and Elizabeth averred that they had found doors open, that they had removed only such property as was their right to remove, that they had used no force, that, in short, every claim against them was 'untruely alleaged.'²

Where the right of the matter lay is hard to say. William and Elizabeth Nevill claimed that in the making of the marriage agreement between Elizabeth and Richard Wye, Sir Giles Grevill had enfeoffed certain personages, namely, John Goderych, Robert Grevill, and others 'of and in' the said manor 'to be held to them and to their heires for and to thuse of the said Sir Gyles for terme of his lyf and after his discease to thuse of the said Rychard Wye and Elizabeth' and of their heirs. Richard Wye and Elizabeth, according to this statement, had issue 'yet living.' After the death of Sir Giles, John Goderich, Robert Grevill and others are said to have entered into the manor and to have been seised of it to the use of Elizabeth as the heir of Sir Giles Grevill. Elizabeth and William had then enfeoffed 'thereof John Huntley Gentyelman and John

¹Star Chamber Proceedings Henry VIII, Bundle 28, No. 4. (*St. Ch.* 2: 28: 4.) (P.R.O.)

²S.C.P. Henry VIII, Bundle 24, No. 116. (*St. Ch.* 2: 24: 116.) (P.R.O.)

Berecroft to have to them and to their heires to thuse of the seid Elizabeth and here heires betwene here and the seid Richard Wye begotten and for defaute of suche heires to thuse of the said Elizabeth and of her heires.' John Huntley and John Berecroft had then 'graunted the seid maner or lordship with thappurtenaunces to the seid William Nevile and Elizabeth to be held to them and to their assignes at the will of the seid John Huntley and John Berecroft.'¹ On the strength of this lease the Nevills had entered and taken possession of the manor.

Sir Adrian and Dame Anne issued a bill of complaint against the young Nevills on the ground that as a part of the marriage agreement between Sir Giles and Lady Anne, 'and also for greate *soumes* of money payde by the ffrendes of the seid Dame Anne unto the seid Sir Gylys and for dyuerse other good causes and greate consideracions,' Sir Giles had enfeoffed William Warham, 'Clarke, Archdeacon of Canterbury,' William Warham, esquire, Thomas Tame, esquire, Thomas Palmer, esquire, and others of and in the manor of Lashborough 'to thuse of the seid sir Gylys and Dame Anne & Of the heirs of their bodyes bytween them lawfully begotten and for defaute of such issue after the dethe of the seid Dame Anne then to thuse of the seid Sir Gylys & of his heys for ever.'²

From items appearing in Sir Adrian Fortescue's account books it seems that the right of William and Elizabeth

¹S.C.P. Henry VIII, Bundle 24, No. 116 (*St. Ch.* 2: 24: 116.) (P.R.O.)

²S.C.P. Henry VIII, Bundle 24, No. 116. (*St. Ch.* 2: 24: 116.) This statement is borne out by the inquisition post mortem (Chan. Inq. P.M. Ser. II, 47, No. 63.) (P.R.O.)

Nevill must have been recognized. There are various notes, from 24 to 26 Henry VIII, relating to Sir Adrian's purchase of Lashborough. Had the suit been favourable to him, he would have had no occasion to buy the manor. In his accounts for Trinity Term, Henry VIII 24, is an item to the effect that Sir Adrian borrowed of John Awdelet, gent., one hundred pounds which he paid to 'W. Nevyle for parte of the purchase of lasbarowe.' This payment is again noted under Costs for the same term, as is the sum Sir Adrian paid for his part of the dinner at the Horshed 'with Mr. Nevile and his wyfe on mydsomer evyn at the payment of the C.li. to them then for lasbarowe.'¹ Other items concerning indentures and releases occur, and finally it is noted that Sir Adrian paid William Nevill in full for the manor of Lashborough. In Sir Adrian's accounts for Easter term, Henry VIII 25, one finds the following:

Item deliuered to my Cosyn lewys ffortescue in keping at the horshede/
to pay William Nevyle esquier in ful payment for lasbarowe Lli.

The words 'deliuered to my Cosyn lewys ffortescue in keping at the horshede' are crossed out, and in the margin appears a note: 'this is in my keping ageyn.'² Evidently, then, the intended payment was not made at this time. But from the accounts of the next year it seems that the purchase of Lashborough was completed at Easter term, Henry VIII 26.

Item pd. to William Nevyle esquier in ful payment for the purchase

¹ *Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books*, vol. 478, ff. 42, 43b, 44. (P.R.O.) (E 315: 478.)

² *Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books* (E 315: 491), fol. 23b.

of lasbarowe in gloucetour in the presence of my lord chancellor as apperith on my Indenture Indosyd & sygned the sum of Lli.¹

At the very time when William and Elizabeth Nevill were making entry into the namor of Lashborough, one John Vampage and others were taking possession of the manor of Wick. To summarize the documents in this case seems hardly worth while in an introduction to *The Castell of Pleasure*. Subsequent records show that William Nevill was living at Wick (Worcestershire) and so one infers that he was winner of the suit.²

The next set of records having to do with our poet is that concerning a charge of treason brought against him (Henry VIII, 24). This makes strange reading to a twentieth century eye. Here we find our hero beguiled by soothsayers and magicians. One Jones of Oxford prophesied to him that he should be Earl of Warwick, and although he protested yet he believed. The upshot of the business was that although, so far as can be judged, he never committed a traitorous act, he talked of his promised greatness, spoke of the prediction that the king should not complete twenty-four years on the throne, kept a servant waiting in London for the news

¹Exchequer Accounts, Bundle 519, No. 17 (E 101: 519, No. 17): Private Expenses of Sir Adrian Fortescue, Knt., 25-26, Henry VIII, fol. 7. Parts of Sir Adrian's accounts have been printed in Thomas Fortescue, Lord Clermont's book, *A History of the Family of Fortescue in all its Branches*, Second Edition, London, 1880. See p. 286 ff.

²For the records of the suit of Nevill vs. Vampage et al., see S.C.P., Henry VIII, Bundle 31, No. 41, and Bundle 24, No. 418. (*St. Ch.* 2: 31: 41: *St. Ch.* 2: 24: 418.)

For subsequent records showing that William Nevill lived at Wick after the date of Vampage's entry, see *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 72, fol. 196 ff. See also the printed calendar of *Letters and Papers*, vol. v, No. 1679.

that he had been told he might expect, consulted Thomas Wood as to whom he should choose to be of his council when he should become Earl of Warwick, built a new gallery at Wick where he could introduce as many as a hundred men in case he needed force, and, in short, acted in such a way as to give the unfriendly very good ground for accusations. Nevill's so-called confession is not a confession of guilt; on the contrary, it is a confession of folly. The pathetic close of this document, seemingly, gives the truth of the matter:

Item dyuerse odre comunicacions of small effecte I hadde *with* the sayd lyght persones which I can not at this tyme call to my remembrance but I have touched theeffecte of all as nyghe as I can / but so god helpe me if I shulde die this houre I wolde take it on my deth / that I never entended neyther by acte magyke nor odrewise to the hurte of the kynges graces most noble persone nor never wished worse to his highnes than I wolde wishe to myn own soule / but by mean of idlenes & lacke of sadde company & vertuose exercyse fell to fantastically ymagynacion & curiose desire to have knowlege of thinges to come which is aboute the reche of any lyving creature but where almighty god of his specyall grace will gyve it / greatly discomfort[ed] in my herte & shalbe while I lyve *that* I hadde not the grace to perceyue it tyll now / most chiefly of all for *that* I have so highly displeased the kynges highnes whom I have founde at all tymes so good & gracyouse lorde unto me / In the most humble wise *that* I can imagine submytting myselfe to his grace and mercy *without* helpe whereof I suppose verely I hadde not bene alyve at this houre.¹

¹For excerpts from the papers relating to this trial, see the printed calendar, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. v (London, 1880), pp. 694-696, No. 1679; vol. vi, pp. 115-116, Nos. 257, 258. The documents themselves are to be found in the Public Record Office. See S.P., 1, §72 ff. 196-207 and S.P. 1, §75, 38, 39. William's deposition (S.P. 1, §72, 200-203) is in his own hand, as is shown by an item in Cromwell's *Remembrances*, Mich. Henry VIII, 23—Mich. Henry VIII, 25, T.R. Misc. Book (P.R.O.) (E 36: 139, p. 96): 'It. a deposition of William Nevell written *with* his hand.' This item is listed in the printed *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. vii (1534) No. 923, xxvi.

This confession seems to have been accepted as true, but the trial had obviously been a great misfortune. That his affairs had gone very badly indeed is evidenced by the following 'supplication' which Nevill sent to Cromwell, apparently in 1534:

With dew and humble submyssion and reuerence pitiously lamenting sheweth unto your wonte benigne *your* humble trewe & feithfull seruante in hart and wyll thoughe not yet so by you reputed and accepted William Nevile / how by meanes of his long troble losses and Infortunat chaunces he is so enpouerysshed that he is not able by the course of the *commen* law to sew for redres of many and gret wronges to hym done besydes diuers patentis and stewardshyppes to the valew of ten poundes by yere *withholden* from hym the said fees & stewardshyppes and *with* forty poundes of arrerage of the sayd fees / Not knowyng nor yett hath found eny to whome he is of kynne or alyed unto nor eny other frend that hathe or wyll geve hym the valewe of an aumbelyng nagge towardes his helpe and socour nor do eny thyng for hym wherby he may atteyne eny manour *profett* / So as he beyng Indebted to diuers persons and havyng very lyttel to lyve on to fynd hym and hys poore wyfe and chyl dren accompteth hym selfe utterly desolate & desperat of helpe and comfort were not the hope that he hath in your sayd goodnes hauyng nothing towardes the recompence of the same but onely his poore hart and prayers whiche considered yf it myght please you of *your* sayd goodnes to accept his sayd poore hert & Servyce in suche wyse as his lyttle wytt and slender lernyng myght sumwhat be occasyoned eyther to encrease or at lest be contynued by meane of exercise / Or elles that it wold lyke you to order hym so as may and shalbe most to *your* pleasour / whiche to accomplysshe he chyeffly desyreth / This for the love of *our* lord and of *your* feithfull charyte /¹

A subsequent letter from Cromwell—if, indeed, the William Nevill there mentioned be the poet—indicates

¹*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 88, fol. 92. This letter is quoted in part in the printed calendar, vol. vii, p. 611, No. 1649. In view of all Nevill's misfortunes, it seems certain that he, and no other William Nevill, was the author of this 'supplication.'

a friendly interest in Nevill's affairs. Cromwell writes to the abbess of Wilton desiring her to be 'good lady' to his 'lovyng frynd' William Nevill about the farm of Chalke, and the copyholds he should have of the manor of Semley, belonging to her monastery. Nevill, Cromwell writes, is loth to sue the abbess at the common law as he has good cause to do.¹

There are records showing that William Nevill served from time to time on the 'Commissions of the Peace' for Yorkshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire; and he was sometimes on the commission appointed to collect the subsidy.² In 1537, after the insurrection of Sir Francis Bigod, William Nevill, 'brother of Lord Latimer,' and Serjeant Roger Middlewood went, apparently as representatives of the King, to Mulgrave Castle to sieze the rebel's goods.³ There are some other records and references of this period concerning 'William Nevill,' but it is doubtful that this William Nevill is meant.⁴

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, §96; 271. See the printed calendar, vol. ix, p. 90, No. 271. It may be that a different William Nevill is meant here, though the letter would seem to refer to some of the copyholds which Nevill had spoken of as unjustly withheld from him. There is, however, as indicated above, a possibility that the supplication itself is not the poet's.

² See the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, *passim*.

³ *The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-1537, and the Exeter Conspiracy*, by M. H. Dodds and Ruth Dodds, II (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 87-88. See also *The Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. XII, No. 234.

⁴ All the records used in this study, with the exception of the 'supplication' by William Nevill, and Cromwell's letter to the Abbess of Wilton, bear in themselves unmistakable evidence as to the identity of their subject. The deposition in the trial for treason is shown by various references to be that of William Nevill, son of the late Lord Latimer and brother to the Lord Latimer of that date.

The 'supplication' is listed under 'Supplications on Paper' in Cromwell's *Remembrances* (P.R.O. E 36; 139). It appears on p. 106 of this document: 'It. a supplication of Willi Nevill.' Shortly before under

There is nothing more of importance, so far as I have found, on the poet's life. That he must have died before 1545 is indicated by the fact that in that year Edward Haslewood made agreements with Richard Nevill, clearly the son of William Nevill, and with Giles Wye by which he acquired the manor of Wick.¹ It is impossible to escape a sentimental feeling of relief in the thought that Nevill had not to endure for long the unhappiness and the misfortunes that preyed upon him.

One would like to find something that would shed light upon the writing of the poem, *The Castell of Pleasure*. But unfortunately nothing appears save is no far as the poem speaks for itself. There must have been some demand for it since it received a second printing. More than this one cannot say. At any rate, Nevill seems to have adhered to the resolution voiced in the last stanza of the poem:

Therfore in mynde I dyd playnly duscus
That I wolde study nomore and specyally thus
Iwolde muse no more in the euenynge so late
But conclude this shortly in wordes compendyous
Lest I shold be as I was erste in myserable estate.

'Depositions/Informacions/Accusacions/and Confessions' the documents concerning William Nevill's supposed treason are itemized. All are under the same general date heading (Mich. Henry VIII, 23—Mich. Henry VIII, 25). If two different persons are meant there is nothing to indicate that such is the case.

¹Feet of Fines, Henry VIII, Bundle 47, File 329 (C.P. 25 [2]). *The Victoria County History of Worcester*, IV, 170, refers to this.

IX

THE TEXT OF
THE CASTELL OF PLEASURE

BOTH copies of *The Castell of Pleasure* are printed in black letter. Each copy consists of eighteen leaves with signatures A, B, C. There is no pagination. The two texts correspond to each other, page for page.

The text used is that of the earlier edition of *The Castell of Pleasure*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde before the Pepwell edition of 1518. At the foot of the page appear in italics the variant readings from the latter. The printed text has been kept without any other emendation than the expansion of certain conventional marks of abbreviation and contraction. In the de Worde text the letters representing these expansions are in every case italicized; in the variants they are in ordinary type. The symbols which have been expanded are as follows:

A stroke over a vowel to represent *n* or *m*: a frequent symbol in both texts.

A stroke over *p* to represent *re*: once in the De Worde text; once in Pepwell.

A stroke through the hasta of the *p* for *er*.

A turned stroke through *v* for *ir* or *er*: once in each text.

The sign resembling the figure 9 for *us*.

The sign resembling the figure 2 for *con* or *com*.

y^e for *the*.

y^t for *that*.

w^t for *with*.

w^t out for *without*.

An upward turn from the second l in the author's Christian name, which appears only once (l. 952).

The following appear only in the Pepwell reprint:

p, with a turned stroke through the hasta, for *pro*. This is found four times in *Pepwell*.

The conventional sign for *quod*: *Pepwell*, 509.

The character 3 for *gh*: once, l. 485.

An upward curl from *t* for *er*: aft, 555.

(Since the Pepwell text is one line short, the lines here cited correspond respectively to 510, 486, and 556 in *de Worde*.)

These symbols are used with no consistency in either text. As a rule, but not always, they occur in long lines. In no case is there any doubt as to their meaning. Of course, one is not always sure whether 2 should be *con* or *com*. As a matter of fact, in the originals we find both *comfort* and *confort*. In such an instance it makes little difference which expansion is chosen.

For the sake of convenience, the title and the brief summary of the poem, which in the original appear only on the title-page, are here repeated at the head of the poem.

THE CASTELL OF PLEASURE

The conueyaunce of a dreme how Desyre went to the castell of pleasure / wherin was the gardyn of affeccyon inhabyted by Beaute to whome he amerously expressed his loue upon *the* whiche supplycacyon rose grete stryfe dysputacyon / and argument betwene Pyte and Dysdayne.

¶ Coplande the prynter to the auctor.

¶ Your mynde consydered / & your good entent
Theffecte regarded / in euery maner case
Your cyrcumstaunce / and labour dyligent
Who wyll construe / is of grete effycace

5 Your sentences morally tenbrace
Concerneth reason of lauryate grauyte
Yonge tender hertes / talecte with amyte

¶ Your aege also flouryng in vyrent youthe
So to bestowe is gretly to commende

10 Bookes to endyte of maters ryght uncouth
Ensample gyuyng to all suche as pretende
In tharte of loue theyr myndes to condescende
In termes freshe / theyr courage to endewe
Not with rude toyes / but elegant and newe

L. 3: *cyrcumstaunce*.

L. 5: *our*. The word is indented. The space at the left would just suffice for *y*
Your was undoubtedly meant.

L. 9: *gretely*.

L. 13: *fresshe*.

- 15 ¶ Yet ben there many that lytell regarde
 Your pleasures castell / inhabyte with beaute
 And I am sure wolde gyue but small rewarde
 For this your labour / and studyous dyte
 But had ye compyled some maner subtylte
 20 Lucre to gete / theyr neyghbour to begyle
 They wolde alowe it a perfyte dyscrete style

¶ Thaurtor.

- ¶ My boke of loue / belongs to no suche arte
 But to the pleasure / is his hoole affeccyon
 Of gentyll people / whiche lyketh to take parte
 25 In pleasaunt youth / with amorous dyleccyon
 Honour regarded / in clene cyrcumspeccyon
 Layenge a parte / all wylfull vayne desyre
 To conforthe them that brenne in louynge fyre

¶ Coplande.

- ¶ Bokes of loue innumerable prynted be
 30 I mene of ladyes / and many a hardy knyght
 Without regarde of sensuall nycete
 In loue exploytynge / truely with all theyr myght
 But loue of golde / these dayes blyndeth the syght
 Of men and women / hauynge theyr delyte
 35 Onely for mede to do theyr appetyte.

Thaurtor.

¶ Enprynt this boke / Coplande at my request
 And put it forth to euery maner of state

L. 16: *Beaute.*

L. 17: *wold.*

A period after l. 14 and after l. 21 in *Pepwell*.

L. 26: *cyrcumspeccyon.*

L. 28 ends with a period.

The heading in *Pepwell* is *Copland*.

L. 32: *exployntynge* | *truly*.

L. 34: *Of men and women* | *hauynge theyr chefe delyte*.

L. 36: *Emprynt.*

L. 37: . . . to euery maner state.

- It doeth no good lyenge styll in my chyst
 To passe the tyme some wyll bye it algate
 40 Cause it is newe / compyled now of late
 At leest way yonge folke / wyll gladly seke recure
 Beauty to gete in the toure of pleasure.

Coplande.

- At your instance / I shall it gladly impresse
 But the utteraunce I thynke wyll be but smale
 45 Bokes be not set by theyr tymes is past I gesse
 The dyse and kardes / in drynkyng wyne and ale
 Tables / cayles / and balles / they be nowe set a sale
 Men let theyr chyldren use al suche harlotry
 That byenge of bokes they utterly deny

¶ Finit prologus

¶ En passant le temps
 sans mal peucer.

A.ij

- 50 **T**Ornyng & trauersynge hystories unstedfaste
 In Ouydes bokes of transformacyon
 It was my fortune and chaunce at the laste
 In ouerturning of *the* leues to se in what facyon
 Phebus was inflamyd by inspyracyon
 55 Of cruell cupyde to hym immercyable
 Whiche of hym was worthy no commendacyon
 Shewynge hymselfe alwayes deceyuable
 Therfore I wolde gladly yf I were able
 The maner playnly and in fewe wordes dysclose

L. 38: *It doost . . . chest.*

L. 46: *The dyce and cardes.* This line in W contains a misprint which I have deleted: the repetition of *and* before *ale*.

L. 47: *now.*

L. 48: *lete.*

L. 49: This line is followed by a period as is *Finit prologus*.

En passant le temps sans mal penser. The *peucer* of W is clearly a misprint.

'Coplande' as the heading of the last stanza of the prologue is not in P.

L. 50: *trauersyng . . . untefaste.*

L. 53: *facyon.*

L. 55: *cupyd.*

L. 57: *Shewyng.*

L. 59: *few.*

- 60 How phebus and cupyd togyer were compenable
Fyrst it to shewe I wyll me dyspose

¶ Phebus set on pryde and hault in corage
Spake these wordes of grete audacyte
Cupyde thou boy of yonge and tender aege

- 65 How mayst thou be so bolde to compare with me
These arowes becomes me as thou mayst clerely se
Wherwith I maye wounde bothe man and beste
And for that at all creatures be subject to the
So moche is thy power lesse than myn at eche feste
70 Well well sayd cupyde it lyketh you to geste
This sayd / he assended to the mount pernassus
On the hyght his armes shortly abrode he keste
And sayd I trust I shall this in haste dyscusse.

- For a profe he toke forth of his arowy quyver
75 A golden darte with loue ryght penytrable
Made sharpe at the poynt that it myght enter
With it he stroke phebus with a stroke ryght lamentable
It to resyste he was weyke and unable
The stroke of his power who can or may resyste
80 But he must obey / and to loue be agreable
Constreyned by cupyde whiche may stryke whome he lyst
Another darte he toke soone in his fyste
Contrary to thoder ledyn blont and heuy
With this he stroke Phebus loue or she wyste
85 So that the more he desyred the more she dyd deny

¶ Her name was Daphnys whiche deuoyde of loue
By dame saunce mercy whiche made hym to complayne
Cupyde in sondry wyse his power dyde proue

L. 60: *togyder*.

L. 61 ends with a period.

L. 63: *Spake . . . grete*.

L. 72: *armis*.

L. 76: *sharp*.

L. 81: *constreyned . . . which . . . whom*.

L. 86: *Her name was daphnys which was deuoyed of loue*.

L. 87: *which*.

- On thone with loue on thoder with dysdayne
 90 Thone dyd fle thoder wolde optayne
 Thone was gladde thoder was in wo
 Thone was pencyfe and oppressed with payne
 Thoder in Ioye cared not thoughe it were so
 By fere and dysdayne she dyd hym ouergo
 95 Lyke to an hare she ranne in haste
 He folowed lyke a grehounde desyre wrought hym wo
 But all was in vayne his labour was but waste.

- The nyght drewe nye the daye was at a syde
 My herte was heuy I moche desyred rest
 100 Whan without confort alone I dyd abyde
 Seynge the shadowes fall frome the hylles in the west
 Eche byrde under boughe drewe nye to theyr nest
 The chymneys frome ferre began to smoke
 Eche housholder went about to lodge his gest
 105 The storke ferynge stormes toke the chymney for a cloke
 Eche chambre and chyst were soone put under locke
 Curfew was ronge lyghtes were set up in haste
 They that were without for lodgyng soone dyd knocke
 Which were playne *precedentes* the daye was clerely paste A. iij
 110 ¶ Thus a slepe I fell by a sodayne chaunce
 Whan I lacked lyght alone without conforte
 My sore study with slouthe dyde me enhaunce
 Myn eyes were heuy my tonge without dysporte
 Caused many fantasyes to me to resorte
 115 My herte was moche musyng my mynde was varyaunt
 So I was troubled with this ungracyous sorte

- L. 90: *dyde*.
 L. 91: *glad*.
 L. 93: *Joy . . . though*.
 L. 98: *drew*.
 L. 100: *comfort*.
 L. 101: *from*.
 L. 105: *feringe*.
 L. 106: *Eche chambre & chest*.
 L. 108: *They that . . . dyde knocke*.
 L. 109 ends with a period.
 L. 111: *comforte*.
 L. 115: *My hert . . . my mynde*.

That my herte & mynde to slouthe shortely dyde graunt
 Aboute the whiche whyles I was attendaunt
 Sodaynly came Morpheus & at a brayde
 120 Not affrayd but lyke a man ryght valyaunt
 Couragiously to me these wordes he sayde.

¶ Morpheus.

¶ Well knowen it is and noysed for a trothe
 Though *perchaunce* it hath not attained yet to your
 audyence
 How Desyre in mynde hath made a solempne othe
 125 Beaute to serue without resistance
 So to contynue he doeth ryght well prepenche
 Durynge his lyfe with loue stedfast and sure
 In parfyte loue to kepe one contynuaunce
 It is his mynde to do her suche pleasure.
 130 ¶ On faruent loue he set holy his mynde
 Loue is his pleasure yet loue putteth hym to payne
 Moche rule I ensure you hath nature and kynde
 In hym as is possyble in one to remayne
 He wolde fayne haue release and dare not yet complayne
 135 Howbeit to suche a poynte he is now brought
 That eyther to shewe his mynde he must shortly be fayne
 Or elles his Loye is clerely solde and bought.

¶ For the whiche it is done me to understande
 That he wyll shortly now expresse his entent
 140 And this they saye he wyll take on hande
 To go to her presence wherfore be dylygent

L. 117: *shortly*.

L. 118: *About . . . atendaunt*.

L. 121: *thse*; *e* inserted, above a caret, in ink.

L. 124: *in*.

L. 126: *dothe*.

L. 130: *sette*.

L. 134: *wold*.

L. 136: *minde*.

L. 140: *say*.

And walke with me and be obeyent
 And I shall soone knowe how he shall spede
 I must of duety holde me content
 145 So ye supporte me alwaye whan I haue nede

¶ The mountayne of courage

¶ This sayd sodaynly by a chaunce repentyne
 I was ascendyng a goodly mountayne
 About the whiche ~~the~~ sonne ouer eche syde dyd shyne
 Wherof the coulour made my herte ryght fayne
 150 To se the golden valeyes bothe fayre and playne
 But whan I to the toppe was nye auanced
 None of my Ioyntes coude togyder contayne
 For Ioye my herte leped and my body daunced.

¶ What call ye this hyll I pray you tell
 155 This is the mountayne of lusty courage
 This hath ben inhabyted of many a rebell
 As unkyndnes / enmyte / dysdayne / and dotage
 But now they be dystroyed by marcyall apparage
 So that now adayes here dwelleth none
 160 Yet dysdayne hath goten a more stately auantage
 For in the castell of pleasure she troubles many one.

¶ Now goodly Iustes here on they excersyse
 By thactyfnes of many a champion
 And these well gargaled galeries they dyd deuyse
 165 To thentente that ladyes myght haue prospeccon

- L. 145 ends with a period.
 The heading has *montayne*. Period at end.
 L. 147: *A goddly montayne*.
 L. 149: *colour*.
 L. 150: *valeys*.
 L. 153: *Ioy . . . lepyd*.
 L. 160: *aduantage*.
 L. 161: *pleasure*.
 L. 164: *gargaled . . . dyde*
 L. 165: *thentent*.

And to suche as were worthy graunte loue & affeccyon
And also whan theyr lust were theyr courage to use
To daunce amonges them they toke a dyreccon
As they myght well and not them selfe abuse

- 170 ¶ Whan I aduerted of these galeryes *the* quadrant facyon
The meruaylous mountayne so well made playne
Me thought that syth the incarnacyon
Was neuer seen a more goodly mountayne
For Ioye my herte leped I was so fayne
175 Of it I was so ioyous and so well appade
I coude in no wyse my mynde refrayne
To suche tyme this as prayse of it I made

- O puyssaunt courage chefe cause of conforte
Thou mayst well be nye the castell of pleasure
180 O hyll thupholder of all doughty dysporte
Of marcyall manhode thou arte the treasure
Out of thy bankes is goten the ure
That causeth the pastymes of parfyte prowes
O mountayne god graunt the longe to endure
185 Syth thou arte lanterne of lastynge lustynes.

- ¶ So forth we walked on that goodly hyll
To that we came to the bankes syde
To se the fayre castell than we stode styll
And to se the rennyng ryuer there we dyde abyde
190 To haue a lowe water we taryed the tyde
The name of this water then thus he dyd expresse
To dystroye chaungeable & peple oppressed *with* pryde
They call this water the lauer of lowlynes

L. 168: *theym*.

L. 171: *meruelous*.

L. 174: *loy*.

L. 178: *O Puyssaunt*.

L. 178: *comforte*.

L. 181: *art*.

L. 185: *art*. No period at the end.

L. 189: *dyd*.

L. 191: *dyde*.

L. 192: *To dystroye chaungeable & people oppressyd with pryde*.

L. 193 ends with a period.

- On the stones of stedfastnes rennes this water clere
 195 To ouercome folkes chaungeable & proude of herte & mynde
 Suche men shall be put in ryght grete daunger
 For than swelleth the water contrary to his kynde
 So that they can not the steppynge stone fynde
 By the meane wherof they be troubled so sore
 200 With the wylde wawes wauerynge with the wynde
 That for lacke of helpe they are ryght soone forlore.

- ¶ But blessed be god we came in good season
 Well passe this same I trust we shall in haste
 Be not flowyshe but arme you with reason
 205 How ye shall gete ouer in mynde afore well caste
 To be to forwarde ye may soone make waste
 So forth we wente in pacyent humylyte
 And whan I this water was well past
 I loked backe and sayd this in breuyte.
 210 O lowly lauer slydyng ouer the stones of stedfastnes
 O ryall ryuer whiche proueth perfytely
 All proude people that delytes in doublenes
 Thou drownest them in thy stremys ryght shortly
 Thou hast a more praynable proprety
 215 Then euer had the well of helycon
 The mother of mekenes conserue the perpetually
 Syth thou arte the mother water of vertues many one

- ¶ So whan I towarde the castell dyrected my loke
 Whiche then was not from me a full stones caste
 220 I remembred that I had redde in many a boke
 That in this place of plesure were many a stormy blast

- L. 195: *proud . . . minde*. Period at end.
 L. 197: *swellyth*.
 L. 198: *stones*.
 L. 200: *waueryng*.
 L. 201: *lake*.
 L. 202: *blessyd*.
 L. 204: *Be not to flowyshe but arme you with reason*.
 L. 210: *slydyng our*.
 L. 215: *hadde*.
 L. 216: *moder*.
 L. 217: *moder*.

Notwith stondynge I thought all perylles had be past
 Whan I sawe of this castell the royall gates
 Yet afore I knewe that pleasour coude not last
 225 There as dysdayne is in fauour with estates

¶ This royall castell was on eche syde quadraunt
 Gargaled with goodly grehoundes & beestes many one
 The tyrannous tygre the stronge & myghty elephaunt
 With a castell on his backe whiche he bare alone
 230 The lyons fyry eyes with rubyes there shone
 The golden grephyn with clees of asure
 The unycorne alowe with a rufull mone
 Stode there as desolate of lyuely creature.

¶ The walles were allectynge of adamantes
 235 The wyndowes of crystall were well fortyfied
 And as I was lokinge on these elyphauntes
 On the gates two scryptures I aspyed
 Them for to rede my mynde than I applyed
 Wryten in golde and yndye blewe for folkes furtheraunce
 240 They betoken two wayes as after well I tried
 These scryptures as I remembre thus sowned in substaunce

¶ Who as in to this place wyll take his entrynge
 Must of these wayes haue fre eleccyon
 Yf he lyst be lusty lepe daunce and synge
 245 Or yf in worldly welthe he set his affeccyon
 In honour ryches or prosperous inuencyon
 He shall be conueyed yf he wyll so ensewe

L. 222: *notwithstandynge*.

L. 225: *estates* is followed by a period.

Ll. 231 and 232 are telescoped in *Pepwell*. There we find *The golden grephyn with a rufull mone*.

The stanza in *Pepwell* has only seven lines. This is the one important difference between the *de Worde* and *Pepwell* texts.

L. 234: *allectyng of adumantes*.

L. 238: *They . . . mynd*.

L. 239: *gold and indye . . . fortheraunce*.

L. 241: *remembre . . . in*.

L. 244: *senge*.

Elles to the scrypture underneth let hym gyue intencyon
Whiche is set out in letters of yndye blewe.

- 250 ¶ Who so doeth sette his pleasure and delyte
His faruent herte to conioyne stedfastly
On the loue of Beaute a blossom ryght wyte
Or on ony of her ladyes let hym ententyfely
Be content his mynde and courage to apply
255 To suche as to conduyt all folkes lyeth in wayte
For none can without theyr leue passe them by
Nor yet attayne to beautes hygh estate

- This sayd my mynde mused gretely
Whiche of these wayes I was best to take
260 Wherby I called to remembraunce shortly
How Hercules of aege but tendre and wake
New at yeres of dyscresyon his mynde sore brake
Whan he sawe two wayes *the* one of *virtue* *the* other of pleasure
And of the nyght it caused hym ryght ofte to wake
265 By cause he knewe not the waye of pefyte measure.

- Yet suche was his fortune ryght happy was his chauce
Whiche toke the waye so moche praysable
This to pleasure and welthe doeth men auauunce
This other doeth enduce one to be amyable
270 I am hereby moche troubled my mynde is unstable
What remedy shall I fynde to make my mynde stedfast
I wyll endeuer me to reason to be conformable
All my wyttes serched I trust it so to caste

L. 248: *intencyon.*

L. 249: *indye.*

L. 250: *Whose doth.*

L. 252: *whyte.*

L. 255: *waite.*

L. 256: *theym.*

L. 258: *mysyd.*

L. 262: *nerwe.*

L. 263: *virtute . . . oder of plesure.*

L. 265: *perfyte mesure.*

L. 267: *way.*

L. 268: *plesure and welth dothe.*

L. 269: *dooth.*

L. 271: *mynd.*

¶ This golden scripture is ryght moche pleasaunte
 275 And hath dampned the eyes of men many one
 I am sore troubled to whiche waye sholde I graunte
 Syth I am now here in maner as man alone
 This loue lasteth whan all ryches is gone
 Therefore I thynke it best with it to be content
 280 Consyderynge that fewe theyr mysfortune wyll mone
 That haue mo faces than hertes as dayly is euydent.

¶ My mynde thus establysshed I was about to prayse
 This palays precyous and castell ryght comfortable
 Whan I had chosen the surest of these wayes
 285 So than I was brought on an euyn table
 For to go to beautye I was than agreable
 And the rather bycause of morpheus desyre
 Whiche sayd that to hym company was deceyuable
 This castell then thus praysed I enflamed *with* loues fyre

¶ O precyous palays of pryncely pulchrytude
 Walled with admantes whiche draweth by vyolence
 Accordynge to thy power and thy stones fortitude
 All thynges of yron / so this castell by influence
 Draweth to hym hertes as I sawe & dyd prepence
 295 Therefore castell Iesu the preserue
 Lest by some pery we myght be dryuen hens
 For durynge lyfe and helthe I entende the to obserue.

¶ Whan I was entred in to this ryall place
 Confort me welcomed with an herty semblaunce
 300 Sayenge what wolde ye that ye came to [t]his place
 Come forwarde and be not afraid your selfe to auance

L. 284: *hadde*.

L. 285: *then*.

L. 289: *This castell then thus praysed I enflamed with loues fyre*.

L. 292: *fortytude*.

L. 295: *preuerue*.

L. 297: *duryng*. No period.

L. 299: *Comfort*.

L. 300: *Sayng*. In this line both texts have *his* for *this*.

L. 301: *forward*.

To speke with desyre I dyd me hyder enhaunce
 She sayd desyre is but a lytle past
 I shall you to hym brynge yf ye haue good utteraunce
 305 I trust ye shall by my good helpe to se hym in hast.

So forthe we walked within this base courte grene
 Ye shall se here she sayd many goodly pastymes
 Ye shall haue suche Ioye as ofte hath not be sene
 As lutyng dauncynge balades and rymes
 310 Syngynge pypynge ye shall se at sondry tymes
 All maner of gamynge ye shall se excercysed
 And upon all quarelles troubles and crimes
 Ryght solempne Iustes be here oft enterprysed

But what way wyll ye take I had forgot all this whyle
 315 Whether wyll ye to the hall or to beaute now expresse
 For here the wayes partes I wos lyke you to begyle
 In Beautyes presence I wolde fayne be doubteles
 A then ye must be conueyd by my syster kyndnes
 In dede syr I had lyke to haue serued you gently
 320 But se where she goeth let us make shorte our processe
 For to her presence brynge you now wyll I

¶ Good syster kyndnes I praye you conuey
 This gentylman whiche sayth wolde speke with desyre
 At your request I can not saye hym naye
 325 Yf it were in me to gyue hym an hole empyre

- L. 305: *be.* No period.
 L. 308: *Ioy.*
 L. 310: *Syngyng.*
 L. 313: *ofte.*
 L. 314: *wyl . . . al.*
 L. 315: *wheder.*
 L. 316: *was.*
 L. 317: *doutles.*
 L. 320: *gooth. . . short.*
 L. 321: Period after *I.*
 L. 323: *gentylman.*
 L. 324: *say him naye.*

But is he I praye you enflamed with loues fyre
That after desyre he goeth so fast appace
Tusshe this mater spede I hertly you requyre
And I shall tell you that in an other place.

- 330 ¶ Well good ynoughe go ye aboute your besynes
Syr for comferte sake ye be ryght hertly welcome
Then conforthe to the gate dyd her redresse
For sorowe wherof I was in maner dumme
I was so mased yet whan my mynde was come
335 I thanked her in my hartiest maner possyble
Besechynge god to sende her suche a some
As myght recompense double and tryble.

- ¶ What moeued you to come in to these partyes B.i.
And I praye you by whome were ye hyther brought
340 That ye haue passed so well the Ieoperdyes
By the meane of Morpheus as now I hyther sought
For I wolde haue entred in though dere I had it bought
One cause was fantasy I can not it denye
Syr hyder be ye welcome as hertely as can be thought
345 And I trust in haste ye shall se fantasy

¶ This sayd I was nye the gardyn of affeccyon
Whiche apperyd to my syght bothe gay and glorious
Enuyronde with emyraudes to it a free proteccyon
The percynge dyamonde the amatiste amorous

- L. 327: *gooth.*
L. 328: *hertely.*
L. 329: No period at end.
L. 331: *comfort.*
L. 332: *comfort . . . dyde.*
L. 333: *dumme.*
L. 335: *hertiest.*
L. 337: No period.
L. 338: *moued.*
L. 339: *hyder.*
L. 340: *Ioperdyes.*
L. 341: *hyder.*
L. 342: *wold.*
L. 344: *hertly can be thought; the second as is omitted.*
L. 345: *fantasye.*
L. 347: *appered. . . gaye.*
L. 349: *perrynge.*

350 The stedfast Saphyr the blew turkes ryght precyous
 With many other stones I lacke comynge them to shewe
 Me thought it a new paradyse delycate and delycyous
 It shone so freshly and bare so grete auewe.

¶ But where is Morpheus I merueyle *that* I hym lacke
 355 He was here with me not very longe agone
 By that I had this sayd I sodenly lokyd backe
 I sawe hym and an other stande talkynge alone
 I praye you who is this I haue not seen suche one
 It is fantasy lo ye maye se that folkes of a quayntaunce
 360 Where soeuer they mete the one wyll other mone
 As these two do now without varyaunce.

¶ Kyndnes than steppeth forth *with* a mery countynaunce
 Sayd syster fantasy why talke ye with this man
 Ye had nede be wyse lest there happen suche chaunce
 365 As I fere not but well ynough ye can
 Well well sayd fantasy why do ye fere me than
 But syster fantasy ye must let this man entre your warde
 To speke with desyre for his colour is pale and wanne
 Therfore to his retourne good syster be his sauegarde

370 ¶ Ye fere ye not but I wyll hym well hede
 Ye wolde be gone well do and kepe your charge
 Lest there be some that of your helpe hath nede
 For there is many one *that* wolde gyue mony ryght large
 To haue you at theyr pleasure alway in theyr barge
 375 That I well knowe and yet they get me not
 And as ye sayd unto me hede your owne charge
 Thus fare ye well and regarde your chaunce and lot

- L. 352: *Me tought.*
 L. 353: No period.
 L. 359: *It is fantasy lo ye may se that folkes of aquayntaunce.*
 L. 361: No period.
 L. 362: *forthe with . . . countynaunce.*
 L. 366: *fantasy.*
 L. 367: *fantasy . . . man entre.*
 L. 368: *wonne.*
 L. 373: *theyr . . . wold—money.*
 L. 374: *plesure alwaye.*
 L. 375: *gete.*
 L. 377: *& for and.*

¶ Kyndnes departed yet her power was present
 Alwaye with fantasy enclosed in her herte
 380 Than fantasy in at the gate dyd sprent
 I leped in after and sodaynly dyd sterter
 Whan I sawe me enclosed about with a couerte
 Set full of myrt trees the apple tre appered playne
 Of pyramus and Thysbe dystroyed by loues darte
 385 Whiche made me ofte to wysse that I were out agayne

¶ Alas quod I what sodayne aduenture
 I se this worlde is but uncertayne
 I was late Ioyus as euer was creature
 And now I folysshly haue locked me in loues chayne
 390 I wene I be in laborinthus where mynotaurus dyd remayne
 A blynde Cupyde is this thy guerdon
 Makest thou folkes blynde doest thou so entertayne
 Suche louers as sewe to the for theyr padon.

¶ I had forgeten the proces of alayne
 395 I nothyng regarded the verses of vyrgyll B.ij.
 Whiche sayth to hyde colours is but vayne
 The worst colour ofte taken the fayrer abydes styll
 For these that be fayr ofte chaunge theyr wyll
 Al thynges as they shewe is not in substaunce
 400 Whiche I perceyued now hath done me moche yll
 That thus frome the shewe hath grete varyaunce

- L. 380: *dyde*.
 L. 381: *lepyd . . . dyde*.
 L. 382: *aboute . . . couert*.
 L. 384: *Of Pyramus and Thysbe . . . dart*.
 L. 385: *that*.
 L. 388: *Ioyous*.
 L. 389: *folysshly*.
 L. 390: *in*.
 L. 391: *guerdone*.
 L. 392: *Makest thou folkes blynde doost thou so certayne*.
 L. 393: *pardon*. No period.
 L. 394: *processe*.
 L. 395: *regardyd*.
 L. 398: *fayre*.
 L. 399: *All*.
 L. 400: *perceyue*.
 L. 401: *from*. Period at end.

What moued hath your mynde why morne ye thus alone
 Haue ye lost ony frende or ony other thyng
 Nay thabsens of conforthe ryght sore I mone
 405 Whiche sayd I sholde here folkes bothe lute and synge
 Thus she tolde me at our last partyng
 And I can not se what waye that sholde ensewe
 For but yf ye suche pastymes to me brynge
 To all my Ioye I maye well saye adewe.

410 ¶ Doubte ye not but ye shall se thynges pleasaunte
 If ye wyll be content to forbere a lytell space
 For conforthe aboute no man contynually is attendaunte
 None erthly creature shall styll stande in her grace
 Ioye reconcyled after angre she foloweth apace
 415 After a grete pery the wether semeth more clere
 There is no man that hath ben in wofull case
 But after that prosperyte is to hym more dere.

¶ None erthly pleasure maye be atteyned *without* payne
 Recorde the story in the tenth boke of Ouyde
 420 Rehered by Venus to make Adonis of her fayne
 How atalante sore set on pryde
 Out ranne all folkes she wolde none abyde
 They *that* coude out renne her sholde haue her in maryage
 They *that* coude not were slayne none spared nor set a syde
 425 This loue was made egall to that anauntage

L. 402: *thus*.

L. 404: *conforthe*.

L. 407: *way*.

Period after l. 408.

L. 409: *may*.

L. 410: *pleasaunte*.

L. 411: *lytyle*.

L. 412: *conforthe*.

L. 414: *anger*.

L. 415: *weder*.

L. 418: *without*.

L. 420: *Reherced*.

L. 421: *sette*.

L. 423: *out rynne—shold*.

L. 425: *auauntage*. Period at end.

¶ Many coragious wowers dyd assaye this Ieoperdy
 But all were dystroyed she dyd them ouer go
 Yet as hyppomentes sawe her moster pulde doune them by & by
 He sayd I blamed these wronge I knewe not *the* rewarde so
 430 As I do now / whiche workes to me moche wo
 My fortune unprouyded shall neuer be lefte alone
 God alwayes helpeth bolde men and fortune also
 I se therby promoted men many one

¶ So venus perceyynge the feruent stedfastnesse
 435 Of this true louer lothe that he sholde be loste
 Put in his mynde as Ouyde doeth expresse
 To take two golden apples or thre at the mooste
 To throwe doune one of them she taught hym suche a toste
 Whan he ranne ayenst his lady *that* she myght it take
 440 So whan at sondry times he had throwen doune all his coste
 He out ranne her & gate her to be his worldly make

¶ Suche was his fortune by his grete boldnes
 Thoughe it were to his payne yet it gate hym pleasure
 For Venus in conclusyon doeth bolde louers redres
 445 As ye may se dayly in ure
 This sayd we were in a gardyn ryght pure
 Depaynted with blossomes of sondry odoures
 Lo quod she how saye ye haue ye not now pleasure
 To walke & knowe *the* propertes of these goodly floures

- L. 426: *coragous . . . leopardy.*
 L. 427: *dyde theym.*
 L. 428: *hypomentes . . . puld.*
 L. 429: *blamyd . . . wrong.*
 L. 431: *left.*
 L. 433 ends with a period.
 L. 434: *Venus.*
 L. 436: *dothe.*
 L. 437: *To take two golden apples or .iii. at the mooste.*
 L. 438: *To throwe doune one of them.*
 L. 440: *cost.*
 L. 441: Period at end.
 L. 443: *though.*
 L. 444: *dooth.*
 L. 448: The conventional sign for *quod*; *say.*

- 450 ¶ Pryncypally the prymrose aboue floures all
 With foure leues / and the roses these be moste in value
 Clicia was chaunged in to a marygold which is a memoryal
 Of her louer the sonne for she doeth hym ensue B.ijj.
 At rysynge at settinge amonge the droppes of dewe
 455 Narcissus was chaunged in to a water cresse
 Hiachynthus in to a floure delyse as ouyde doeth shewe
 Rehersynge of the same floures many a propre proces.

- This som thyng pulles up my herte & encreseth my confort
 Wherefore I wyll applye to you with due dylygence
 460 Lo se here be all the floures of loue and dysporte
 I had almoost forgote my selfe it were tyme I were hens
 I wyll go and now present you to eloquence
 Whiche is here by at the well of helycon
 Me thynke I se her therfore as I prepence
 465 Best is to present you now whan she is alone

- ¶ O famous floure O lady eloquence
 Pleseth you to take with you this gentylman
 So that ye may haue suche preemynence
 As to hym in no wyse shewe I can
 470 I holde me well content but there is a man
 Named desyre whiche wolde speke with my lady
 There aboute I go / well good ynoughe than
 That ye haue put it of so longe meruell haue I

L. 450: *prymrose.*

L. 452: *clicia . . . memorial.*

L. 453: *doethe.*

L. 454: *setynge.*

L. 455: *watre.*

L. 456: *dothe.*

L. 457: *these same . . . propre.*

L. 458: *This som thyng pulles up my hart & encreseth my comfort.*

L. 461: *self . . . hens.*

L. 465 ends with a period.

L. 467: *Plesyth.*

L. 468: *So that he may haue suche preemynence.*

L. 472: *about.*

L. 473: Period at end.

- ¶ Than she talked to me of ulysses
 475 Tellynge me that he was a man ryght eloquent
 Than to lene at the herbar where Beaute sat at ese
 It pleased eloquence / yet the bowes were so bent
 That we coude not se thurgh / yet fantasy was present
 As we well herde by her communycacyon
 480 And shewynge the maner of desyres entent
 She ordered her wordes moche after this facyon.

¶ Fantasy.

- ¶ O well of womanhede to us lady and maystres
 Pleaseth your hyghnes of your aboundaunt grace
 To knowe how Desyre in ryght grete heuynes
 485 Requyred me to moeue you whan I had space
 That he myght speke *with* you & to appoynt tyme & place
 That he myght awayte on you and gyue you attendaunce
 To shewe you all his grefe and in what wofull case
 He doeth endure without dyssemblaunce.

¶ Beaute.

- ¶ Ye knowe well fantasy I am nothyng accompanied
 490 Lyke as I wolde be whan he shall attayne my presence
 Therfore as best is let this be applyed
 Go ye and call hyther your syster credence
 Let eloquence be nyghe lest there happeth some offence
 495 For it is mete they be nyghe at this grete besynes
 Quod dysdayne it is mete my lady haue preemynens
 Lyke as becometh her estate and noblenes

L. 475: *Thellynge*.

L. 478: *through*.

L. 483: *pleasyth*.

L. 486: *myght . . . with*.

L. 487: *attendaunce*.

L. 489: *dothe*.

L. 490: *nothyng*.

L. 491: *wold*.

L. 496: *preemynence*.

L. 497: *becomyth*. Period at end.

- ¶ Forth went fantasy to do her message
 Desyre thought he taryed very longe
 500 And sore he was moeued with faruent corage
 He thought he wold Ieperde though it sholde happen wrong
 And in his grete trouble he called fantasye amonge
 Saynge ye forgete ye hede not my grete payne
 Yf som chaunce haue happed her I may synge a woful song
 505 Or elles I fere me she be let by dysdayne.

- Betweene hope and drede thus troubled ryght
 He stepte forth with a solempne semblaunce
 Thoughe I neuer attayne her I wyl thus endure no more
 So than forwardes he dyd hym selfe auauance
 510 Lo quod dysdayne se ye this sodayne chaunce
 Here is desyre what sodeyn smoke caused this
 Drawe the trauers quod Beaute let us here this utteraunce
 He entred and kneled downe & spake nothyng amysse

- ¶ The supplycacyon made by desyre to Beaute.
 ¶ O excellent empresse whiche guydeth in your guardon
 515 This goodly gardyn of amyable affeccyon
 Whiche also graunteth to true louers pardon
 All obstynate people ye subdue to correccyon
 It is also in your power and eleccyon
 Louers to redress under Venus ye haue moste power
 520 By you they must be ordered after your dyreccyon
 Whiche in your gardyn sholde gader ony floure.

L. 500: *moued*.

L. 501: *Ioperde* . . . *shold*.

L. 502: *And in his gret trouble he called fantasy among*.

L. 503: *gret*.

L. 504: *som chaunce* . . . *synge*.

L. 506: From both texts a word, probably *sore*, is omitted at the end of this line.

L. 507: *stept*.

L. 508: *though*.

L. 509: *hymself*.

L. 510: The conventional sign for *quod*.

L. 512: The conventional sign for *quod*.

L. 515: *guardon*.

L. 518: *elleccyon*.

L. 519: *Venus*.

L. 520: *muste*.

- ¶ Pleaseth your hyghnes to gyue hede and intent
 To this expressynge of my wofull payne
 Late to slepe whan I was dyligent
 525 To me there happed a grete cause to complayne
 None erthly conforte coude in me remayne
 Cupyde had bewrapped myne herte so sore
 To serche meane to slepe it was but vayne
 I was neuer so troubled syth that tyme nor before.
- 530 ¶ To me there came as I well perceyued
 Late sent from Cupyde a golden darte ryght hote
 Whiche perced me so sore whan I it fyrst receyued
 That neyther salues nor surgyens coude helpe nor be my bote
 They durst not serche *the* wounde it laye at myn herte rote
 535 And for that there was but one that coude it remedy
 It pleased me not than to go to here a mote
 But ofte on Cupyde it caused me out to crye.
- ¶ It was your loue whiche was cause of all this
 I can not denye it but shewe it in wordes playne
 540 I durst to none erthy shewe my woo as it is
 To overcome this feruent loue I dyde my besy payne
 But when I sawe it auyled not than I was fayne
 To labour for socour then I thought it best
 But yf ones grace be shewed none can sure helth obteyne
 545 Thefore trustynge on pyte of this poynt I dyde rest.
- ¶ Wherefore o lady preelecte prynesse
 On all louers hauynge the soueraynty
 I hertely beseche you my wo to redresse
 The cause considered of my grete ieoperdy

L. 527: *myn hert.*

L. 532: *perced.*

L. 533: *surgyens.*

L. 534: *wounde . . . hert rote.*

L. 537: *oft . . . cry.* This line ends with a period.

L. 540: *erthly.*

L. 542: *auayled not than I was I fayne.*

L. 543: *To laboure for socoure.*

L. 544: *non can . . . obteyne.*

L. 545: *Therefore.*

L. 547: *soueraynty.*

L. 548: *hertly.*

L. 549: *ieoperdye.*

550 I trust ye nether wyll ne can this my request deny
For I haue founde suche grace in your eyes or this
That yf all the peryll in the worlde sholde on it ly
I coude not forbere but tell you as it is.

¶ No worldly ryches to you I can promyse
555 Moste I can saye is that ye shall be my moste conforte
But god which to al folkes after theyr merites can deuyse
Rewarde or punishment moste egally he doeth sorte
He is the lorde of pyte Iusques a la mort
Gyue you rewarde and preserue you at all houres
560 Of perfyte loue he bereth a pryncy porte
And to encrease my Ioye I aske no more but yours

¶ Dysdayne

A proude presumptuous persone goeth neuer without offence
Ye haue well aquyted you now ye haue tolde this tale
It came of a hyghe wyt yf ye well prepençe
565 Within her owne gardyn my lady to assaylle
Without her lycence it lyked you to rayle
On cruell Cupyde your pryde wyll haue a fall
I trust to se you gladde your bonet to auayle
And amonge the waykest be put backe to the wall

L. 550: *neyther . . . denye.*

L. 552: *lye.*

L. 553: No period.

L. 554: *Now wordly ryches to you I can promyse.* The next line shows that the
de Worde text is right.

L. 555: *most . . . say*

L. 556: *But god which to al folkes after theyr meryte can deuyse.*

L. 557: *Rewardes or punyshement . . . doth.*

L. 558: *morte.*

L. 560: *Of parfyte loue he bereth a pryncely porte.*

L. 561: *Ioy.*

L. 562: *A proude presumptuous persone goeth neuer without offence.*

L. 563: *nowe.*

L. 565: *Within your own gardyn my lady to assayle.*

L. 568: *glad.*

- 570 Lyke as a sodayn rebuke moche greueth ones herte
 Whiche late hath begonne to be aduenturous
 So this caused desyre sore astonyed to sterte
 Sayenge I haue attempted a thyng ryght Ieopardous
 To attayne the presence of my lady moste beautyus
 575 I can make none answer nor utterly denye
 That but I haue presumed on a loue precyous
 It in this case I blame but hope and fantasy

- ¶ I knowe no remedy what is best to be done
 But yf pyte with this pryncesse be present
 580 I may as well elles go muse about the mone
 As hyther to come to shewe myn intent
 As longe as dysdayne contynueth yll content
 Wherefore for pyte I hertly call and crye
 That she were with beaute me thynke it expedyent
 585 To dysdayne in open audyence then spake pyte

¶ Pyte.

- ¶ What moeueth you dysdayne this man this to reprove
 Whiche I am sure came in none yll entent
 But to expresse and repress his mynde & faruent loue
 Hath he only ungoodly wordes in my ladyes presence spent
 590 I perceyue no pryde in hym me thynketh hym dylygent
 And yf ye haue any cause in hym now speke
 Yf not / I assure you I can not be content
 That *with* unsyttynge wordes ye shold his herte thus breke

- L. 570: *sodayne*.
 L. 572: *astoynded*.
 L. 573: *saynge . . . thyng . . . ryght Iopardous*.
 L. 574: *moost beautyous*.
 L. 580: *els . . . aboute*.
 L. 583: *hertly*.
 L. 586: *moueth . . . reprove*.
 L. 589: *in . . . presence spent*.
 L. 593: *with unsyttynge . . . sholde*.

Dysdayne.

- Fayre maystres I made not these wordes on my fyngers
 595 Wene ye I wolde speke them & haue no grounde wheron
 But fyrst I wyll say I shrewe his fyrst bryngers
 In *the* parlour *without* the gate he myght haue stand alone
 But I wyll tell you my causes syth ye be suche one
 As must haue accomptes / nay therof ye shall pardon me
 600 I wyll seke for an other whiche shall my troubles mone
 I wyll fyrst knowe your rule / what wote ye where ye be

¶ Pyte.

- ¶ Ye well ynoughe it semeth better then you
 Except to reason ye be more conformable
 It is my ladyes power our reasons to allowe
 605 I take no suche thnge on me I knowe I am not able
 I haue neyther power ne *commandement* but as is agreable
 To my ladyes pleasure but by reasons to make argument
 That suche reasons well weyed my mynde may be stable
 And by contraryous reasons to serche out his true entent

¶ Dysdayne.

- 610 ¶ I am content to put my cause in to my ladyes handes
 As it shall please her I must hold me content
 But I owe you no seruyce I holde of you no landes
 To shewe you my cause afore my lady I consent

L. 594: *maysseres . . . fingers.*

L. 595: *grounde.*

L. 597: *without the . . . stande.*

L. 598: *sythe.*

L. 599: *pardon.*

L. 600: *shal . . . troubles.*

L. 601: *wyl . . . know.*

L. 602: *ynough . . . semyth.*

L. 605: *thyng.*

L. 606: *commandement . . . agrable.*

L. 607: *resons.*

L. 608: *wel . . . mynd.*

L. 609: *contraryous . . . entent.*

L. 611: *pease.* Evident misprint for *please*. Correction written in in *Pepwell*.

Let her ordre me as she shall thynke conuenient
 615 Why sholde he come without leue to her presence
 Answer to this as ye thynke expedyent
 Me thynke to my lady he hath done a grete offence.

¶ Pyte

¶ The cause consydered I trust ye wyll saye
 That whan he came hyther he mynded no dyspleasure
 620 As to warde my lady he came for the next waye
 And as in his wordes he hath ordred hym by measure
 He neyther sought hyther for golde ne treasure
 But cupyde constrayned his courage to make more haste
 And but yf ye fynde some other cause then this I am sure
 625 For this my lady wyll not hym out of her fauoure caste

¶ Dysdayne.

¶ Forther he hath made a grete exclamacyon
 Complaynyng on cupyde callynge hym cause of his wo
 Saynge in this wyse or moche after this facyon
 The golden darte of Cupyde constreyneth me lo
 630 I can not se by what meane it sholde be so
 Sayenge he desyreth my lady it to redresse
 For than he sholde haue sought to Venus as many one do
 And haue made his complaynt to that excellent goddessse

L. 614: *conueyent.*

L. 616: *expedynt.*

L. 617: No period.

L. 619: *hyder . . . dyspleasure.*

L. 620: *As towarde my ladye for he came the next waye.*

L. 621: *mesure.*

L. 622: *hyder . . . treasure.*

L. 623: *constrayned.*

L. 624: *then.*

L. 625: *faueur.* Period at the end.

L. 627: *complaynge on Cupyde.*

L. 629: *dart . . . constrayneth.*

L. 630: *shode.*

L. 631: *Saynge.*

L. 632: *than.*

L. 633: *complaynt.* This line ends with a period.

¶ Pyte.

- ¶ And yf ye well consyder he is worthy more prayse
635 That he to my lady made his supplicacyon
Than yf he had compassed her by more crafty wayes
It cometh of a good courage & he is worthy commendacyon
That he dare speke and trust to haue no replycacyon
Agayne his mynde feruent loue was cause of this
640 The whiche in hym had so grete operacyon
To make hym tell the trouth were it well or amysse.

¶ Dysdayne.

- Wene ye he be so feruente nay I waraunt you he shall lyue
Yf neuer more trouble came to his herte
Wene ye without cause he wolde to her loue gyue
645 Not knowynge her mynde to make hym so to smerte
He can well ynoughe fayne loue Ouyde layde aparte
De arte amandi whiche techeth one to loue
Or els the squyer of *venus* dyd hym in the euenynge starte
And so to cast his fantasy hym sodaynly dyd moeue

¶ Pyte.

- 650 ¶ Nay his colour dyscryueth of loue the feruent fyre
He is not crystened that can suche countynauce fayne
Iuppyter whiche had subdued many to his empyre
As sodaynly with loue Cupyde dyd hym retayne
And whan he to danaes in a golden shoure dyde complayne
655 His grefe consydered and well knowen for a trothe
She graunted hym loue and caused hym to remayne
What wyll ye haue forther than sure promyse and othe

L. 637: *courag* . . . *commendacion*.

L. 640: *soo*.

L. 641: *amys*. No period.

L. 642: *warante*.

L. 648: *the* . . . *dyde* . . . *the*.

L. 649: *fantasye* . . . *dyde moue*. Period at the end.

L. 650: *coloure* . . . *faruent*.

L. 653: *dyde*.

L. 654: *golden* . . . *dyd complayne*.

¶ Dysdayne.

- ¶ As for promyse and othe I lytell them regarde
 For as it is sayd wordes is nothyng but wynde
 660 Was not parys false of promyse and harde
 Whan to Enone he was so unkynde
 Whiche by a solempne othe to her dyd hym bynde
 That he wolde mary her in all goodly haste
 But whan the golden apple . iii . goddesses dyd fynde
 665 His Iugement fulfilled his wordes proued but waste

¶ Pyte.

- ¶ He was enflamed but by aduenture
 His pouerte made hym content his mynde to expresse
 Yet whan of his Iugement he had theffect & pleasure
 None of his dedes accorded shortly nor in processe
 670 But the dedes of Desyre folowed doubtles
 For accordyng to his wordes he made grete labour
 Hertely requyryng my lady hym to redresse
 Promysynge her the utterest of his lytle power.

¶ Dysdayne.

- ¶ Perchaunce that was more for ryches than for loue
 675 Or bycause of her grete parentage he dyd to her sewe
 So many one hath done as by experyence I can proue
 Whiche appereth so euedently *that* I need no *examples* shewe

- L. 658: *theym*.
 L. 659: *worde*.
 L. 661: *Whan he Enone he was so unkynde*.
 L. 662: *dyde*.
 L. 664: *goddesse dyde*.
 L. 665 ends with a period.
 L. 666: *enflamyd*.
 L. 668: *theffecte*.
 L. 670: *doutles*.
 L. 672: *Hertly requyryng*.
 L. 673: *lytell*. No period.
 L. 674: *rychesse*.
 L. 675: *dyde her sewe*.
 L. 677: *euydently . . . examples*.

- Mo laboreth for lucre whan a thyng is fallen newe
 Than by feruent loue to attayne hault noblenes
 680 Whiche causeth oft ladyes in heuy case to rewe C.i.
 And be more ware to whome they theyr myndes expresse

¶ Pyte.

- Thoughe many one hath so done can ye thynke in your reason
 That desyre so entendyd whan he hyther came
 Consyder it well and ye wyll thynke at this season
 685 It was faruent courage that brought hym to his blame
 Whiche had suche power in hym *that* he lesse fered shame
 Where as yf he had sued for ryches he wolde not so haue done
 As ye may understande & yf ye regarde his name
 Ye wyll saye that pure loue was cause of it alone.

Dysdayne.

- 690 Admytte it was for loue yet many are chaungeable
 Thoughe longe it hath contynued in approued kyndenes
 Was not Iason to Medea longe agreable
 Yet after it chaunged he refused her in proces
 What cruell herte had he whiche for her gentylnes
 695 In none other wyse dyd her recompence
 He regarded neyther kynred nor noblenes
 This well consydered who wolde to theym gyue credence

¶ Pyte.

- ¶ Ye may not blame all thoughe some be chaungeable
 I can tell you hystories of louers ryght stedfast
 700 Pyramus and Thysbe contynued very stable
 As longe as lyfe dyd in theyr bodyes last

- L. 678: *mo laboreth*.
 L. 679: *faruent*.
 L. 680: *ofte*.
 L. 681: *whom . . . there* (for *theyr*).
 L. 683: *hyder*.
 L. 685: *corage*.
 L. 690: *yit for yet*.
 L. 691: *Though . . . kyndnes*.
 L. 697: *would . . . credence*.
 L. 698: *though*.

Whan thone was deed thoder to deth dyd haste
 Loue surely conioyned is a grete pleasure
 Than why sholde ye all louers out of fauour cast
 705 Syth Thysbe of Pyramus had so grete a treasure

¶ Dysdayne.

¶ All these hystories are not profe suffycient
 Syth hystories of bothe partes are ryght notable
 Therfore with these reasons I wyll not be content
 But I wyll you put a questyon good and reportable
 710 Whether loue comynge by effeccyon be more durable
 Or loue comynge by *condicyons* heron shall be our argument
 Me thynke loue comynge by *condicyons* is lesse varyable
 How thynke ye now speke shewe your mynde & entent

¶ Pyte.

¶ Me thynke contrary and for this reason
 715 That loue comynge by effeccyon shold endure a lenger space
 Loue is a conioynynge of two hertes for a season
 Thoughe perauenture they contynue not long in a place
 Yet in theyr absence suche loue encreaseth a pace
 Where as yf it came by *condicyons* it coude not reuyue
 720 But yf so were they myght be in suche case
 That they myght contynue togyder all theyr lyue.

¶ Dysdayne

¶ Yes the remembraunce therof remayneth in memory
 And contynueth longe to theyr grete conforte
 In what frendely maner and how gentlyly
 725 His loue to hym dyd at sondry tymes resorte

L. 702: *dede . . . dethe.*

L. 704: *shold.*

L. 705: *gret a tresure.* This line ends with a period.

L. 711: *cominge by condicyons heron . . . argument.*

L. 715: *cominge.*

L. 718: *encreseth.*

L. 723: *comforte.*

L. 724: *frndly.* (Correction to *frendly* written in in *Pepwell.*)

Fyndynge with hym goodly pastymes and dysporte
 Hauynge no lust frome hym to dysseuer
 Me thynke of suche as are of this sorte
 Loue sholde contynue and last for euer.

¶ Pyte

- 730 ¶ More surely enprynted is and conioyned stedfastly
 The loue by effeccyon entreth the herte more depe
 Than of the other for they rest quyetyly
 Where thoder oftymes breketh many a slepe
 It is so penytrable and so subtylly doeth crepe
 735 Upon a man whiche maketh it so stable
 Where in thoder yf one suche corne dyd repe
 He wolde to her be aswell agreable. C.ij.

¶ Dysdayne.

- ¶ Perauenture he thynkes suche condycyons be in none
 As in his loue so substancyall and stedfast
 740 He weneth she be incomperable a lone
 So *that* all worldly stormes can not blowe downe his mast
 Not Eolus yf he came with his moost stormy blast
 Nor thesiphone coude cause betwene theym dyscorde
 So durably he trustes that loue wyll last
 745 He weneth that Cupyde be so contynuall a lorde

¶ Pyte.

¶ Consyder the grounde and than it dyscus
 Where the grounde fayleth can be no suraunce
 Cessante causa cessat et effectus
 Take awaye the condycyons where is the remembraunce

- L. 727: *from*.
 L. 729: *shold*.
 L. 730: *emprynted*.
 L. 734: *dothe*.
 L. 737: *wold*.
 L. 738: *condycyons*.
 L. 741: *al . . . doune*.
 L. 742: *Colus* (obvious misprint for *Eolus*).
 L. 749: *away . . . the remembraunce*.

750 All is clene gone but where effeccyon doeth enhance
 There is no chaunge but loue perpetuall
 No dyspleasure can dyspoynt theyr desyred dalyaunce
 But be entred in the boke of fame to be memoryall

¶ Thautour.

Dysdayne to speke was very desyrous
 755 Had not credence interrupted his language
 Whiche made suche haste to her lady amerrous
 That somthyng she poynted because of her vyage
 For the whiche she lyke a woman ryght sage
 Made a pause and spake in wordes compendyou
 760 And tellynge she was comen accordyng to her message
 And in this wyse she spake in wordes effectuous

¶ Credence.

¶ It pleaseth your grace of your beneuolence
 To dyrect to me by fantasy your letters myssyue
 Wherby I consydered and ryght well dyd prepen
 765 That I without contraryccyon excuse or stryfe
 Sholde resorte to your presence syth I duryng my lyue
 Am bounde to your commaundement yet haue I done offence
 But I dyd it for this entent elles me from lyfe depyue
 That me thought it not mete to gyue hasty credence

¶ Beaute.

770 ¶ I repute no blame in you ye came in good season
 Ye haue well aspyed your tyme I holde me content
 Your excuse I allowe it is grounde on reason
 Here hath ben moche besynes syth ye hens went

L. 750: *dothe.*

L. 752: *dysplesure.*

L. 755: *Credence.*

L. 756: *amorous.*

L. 762: *plesyth.*

L. 764: *dyde.*

L. 765: *strue.* (Correction written in in *Pepwell.*)

L. 766: *shold.*

L. 767: *Am bounde to your commaundement yit haue I done offence.*

L. 771: *hold.*

L. 772: *excusse.*

L. 773: *bene.*

Now I wyll declare my pleasure syth ye be present
775 As touchynge desyre after whose supplycacyon
Betwene Pyte & Dysdayne hath ben a sore argument
Tyll ye interrupted theyr communycacyon

¶ Pyte and dysdayne gyue ye good audyence
And ye desyre take this for an answer
780 Syth now is comyn to me credence
I wyll no lenge make delay nor defarre
But I commaunde you two to cese your plees and warre
And you desyre I wyll to my fauour take
Syth me to please aduenture so well ye darre
785 I were to blame yf I sholde you forsake

¶ Forther I wyll that ye enioye and procede
The moost parte of this gardyn of affeccyon
Yf ye lacke ony thyng ye shall haue it at nede
And for the tender zeles amyte and dyleccyon
790 That I haue to you ye shall haue proteccyon
Ouer me and myn duryng my mortall lyfe
I wyll moreouer be subdued to your correccyon
Yf it lyke you to mary me & haue me to your wyfe

¶ Thaurtor.

¶ O noble wordes ioyous and confortable
795 Prudence propre pastyme pleasure and prouysyon
In this good lady were ryght notable
From dotage dysdayne daunger and derysion

C.iiij.

- L. 774: *plesure sythe*.
L. 777: *communycacyon*. Period at the end.
L. 779: *answerre*.
L. 781: *lenger*.
L. 782: *commaunde*.
L. 784: *plese*.
L. 788: *a nede* for *at nede*.
L. 789: *dyeccyon* (evident misprint for *dyleccyon*).
L. 792: *morouer* . . . *subued*.
L. 793: After this line 'Thaurtor' is omitted in *Pepwell*.
L. 794: *comfortable*.
L. 795: *plesure*.

I wene she was preserued by some vysyon
 For the whiche desyre of good and herty mynde
 800 Spake these wordes without mysprysyon
 His mynde expressynge by wordes propre and kynde

¶ Desyre.

¶ O precyous pryncesse of preelecte pulcrynute
 I can not compasse your compassyble kyndnes
 Whan it hath pleased your benygnyte & gratytude
 805 That I myght entre your gardyn my mynde to expres
 I am of no suche abylyte as ye make me doubtles
 But syth ye haue enhabled me of your benygnyte
 God rewarde you *that* it hathe pleased you to enhaunce my
 dygnyte.

¶ The eternall god rewarde you accordyngly
 810 Yf ony of his powers regarde folkes petyouse
 Yf Iustyce be in ony place acquyted duely
 O what worlde brought forth your body delycyouse
 What parentes gate suche one to be so amerouse
 Your countenaunce doeth reioyse me & encreseth my myrthe
 815 Your vertue proueth your parentage to be of noble byrthe

¶ As longe as *the* flodes renne with water vyolent
 As longe as shadowes shall about hylles appere
 And whyle there shall be ony sterres in the fyrmament
 So longe shall your loue my herte and body stere
 820 Your honour and name shall be expressed without fere
 Syth ye be not varyaunt but stedfast and substancyall
 Therfore god you acquyte with Ioye perpetuall.

L. 801: *Hys.* Period at the end.

L. 804: *Whan it hath plesed of your bonygnyte and gratitude.*

L. 808: *pleased.*

L. 812: *world.*

L. 814: *doth . . . encresith.*

L. 815: *proueth.*

L. 816: *the.*

L. 819: *hert.*

L. 821: *Syth* for *syth*; *sustancyall.*

L. 822: No period.

¶ Thaurtor.

¶ This sayd he was auauunced by *commaundement* of beaute
 To her owne fete the chayre of preemynence
 825 Wheras dysdayne was so enuyouse and angre
 That she fared as one without intellygence
 Saynge I wyll nolenger tary I wyll go hens
 Syth that as soone is auauunced a man of yesterdaye
 Hauynge no good property as one that without offence
 830 Hath contynued from yonge aeye in seruyce alway.

¶ Than she torned her backe full skornfully
 And towarde the gates she hyed a hasty pace
 And from thens she was conueyed by fantasy
 To that she was clene without the palace
 835 Than pyte sayd what sory grace
 Where is dysdayne is she gone without leue
 For sothe that were a very heuy case
 Yet I trust it sholde not many folkes greue.

¶ Noyse rumour and fame went shortly all abroad
 840 Within the garden that dysdayne was clerely gone
 Whiche caused many louers that made longe abode
 To complayne to theyr ladyes they went all alone
 They fered than nothyng but made theyr mone
 And sone were sped and went out at the gate
 845 Where as afore there coude not haue passed one
 Fantasy stode alwaye so contynuall thereat.

L. 823: *commaundement*.

L. 825: *were as*.

L. 828: *yesterday*.

L. 829: *offence*.

L. 831: *skornefully*.

L. 832: *gathes* (with line through the *h*.)

L. 832: *te* for *the*.

L. 842: *allone*.

L. 843: *feryd*.

L. 844: *soone*.

L. 846: *continually*.

¶ Whiche lyberty encreased amonge them suche Ioyes
That me thought I herde *the* sownynge of many an instru-
ment

Whiche grete tryumphe & penytrable noyse
850 Caused Morpheus to vanysshe incontynent
Because it was not necessary he sholde be present
But auoyde from thens where is noyse and company
Whan he was gone I waked and sodaynly dyd sprent
So astonyed I knewe not where I was perfytely.

¶ Morpheus vanysshed thauctor
speketh in this wyse

855 ¶ The daye was comyn and kest a dymme lyght
The sonne under clowdes by weder tempestyouse
Oryble thonder & lyghtnyng sore troubled my syght
And therwith a betynge shour a storme rygorouse
Waked me out of slepe it was so leoperdouse
860 And where as I wened I had be waked *with* mynstrelsy
It was contrary whiche made my mynde so troublouse
That I coude no waye rest neyther syth stande ne lye
Than I remembred all my dreame and fantasy
Sayenge for the remembraunce of this sodayne chaunge
865 I entende to wryte the maner herof ryght shortly
That folkes may consyder this worlde is but straunge

¶ Yet to the wyndowe I walked a softe pace
Ofte syghynge and sobbynge with an heuy herte
To se where I coude espye of pleasure the palace
870 Or of thynhabytauntes therof perceyue ony parte

L. 848: *sownynge . . . instrument.*

L. 850: *vanysshe* (evident misprint for *vanysshe*).

L. 851: *shold*.

Heading: *this*. Period after *wyse*.

L. 855: *day*.

L. 859: *Ioperdouse*.

L. 860: *wher as . . . wenyd . . . with minstrelsy*.

L. 861: *which*.

L. 864: *Saynge*.

L. 870: *thynhabytauntes*.

Eyther conforte or kyndenes whiche made me to smerte
 Fantasy or eloquence whiche dyd desyre forder
 Pyte with Beaute was whan I dyd thus departe
 I loked for theyr places where they stode in order
 875 Yf I coude se Credence walkynge in ony broder
 I loked for all these yet I sawe none alas
 Whiche brought to mynde wordes of salomon of wysdome
 recorder

Vauitas vanitatum & omnia mundi vanitas.

¶ Where is Sampson for all his grete strength
 880 Or where is the sage Salomon for all his prudence
 Dethe hath and wyll deuoure all at lenth
 For where is ulysses for all his eloquence
 Where became Crassus for his ryches and opulence
 Where is luces for all her chastyte
 885 Where is alexander whiche subdued to his obedyence
 Moche of the worlde by his marcyalyte
 Where is Tully whiche had pryncypalyte
 Ouer all oratours in parfyte rethoryke
 Where be all the .iiii. doctours of dyuynyte
 890 Where is arystotyll for all his phylosophy and logyke.

¶ Be not all these departed frome this transytory lyfe
 Yet theym to dyuers places our creatour dyd name
 With egall Iugement without debate or stryfe
 Accordynge to theyr merytes he dyd rewarde or blame

L. 871: *confort—kyndnes.*

L. 872: *dyde.*

L. 873: *dyde.*

L. 875: *border.*

L. 876: *yit.*

L. 877: *salomon.*

L. 879: *Vanitas.*

L. 881: *Deth . . . length.*

L. 883: *become.*

L. 884: *Lucres.*

L. 885: *Alexander.*

L. 886: *marcyalte.*

L. 889: *four.*

L. 890: *Arystotyll; & for and.* No period at the end.

L. 891: *from.*

L. 892: *dyde.*

L. 893: *Iugment.*

895 Therfore for your soules helth use vertue & drede shame
 And as to the worlde laboure alway for loue
 That ye may perpetually reyne in good fame
 It shall be to you all ryches aboute
 As by experyence oftymes it doeth proue
 900 Of suche as haue had subgetts *without* loue them to drede
 From they be of power than they do theyr mynde remoue
 And so theyr maysters fayle whan they haue nede

¶ And ye that wyll be louers of ladyes amyable
 Ye maye not be sleuthfull but about them dylygent
 905 And alwaye to theyr pleasures ye must be agreable
 Yf ye intende theyr myndes to content
 But fyrst fyxe your mynde there as it may be well spent
 Be secrete and stedfast without mutabylyte
 Be bolde and couragious fulfyll theyr commaundement
 910 With a quicke and hasty spede as ye by possybylyte
 May or can nothyng is better than agylyte
 With contynuall presence nothyng can helpe more
 For Ouyde sayth els your loue shall not rest in *tranquylyte*
Vanescetque absens et nouus intrat amor.

915 ¶ These reasons reuolued in my remembraunce
 Whan that sorowe was somthyng modefyed
 Than grete trouble my mynde dyde enhaunce
 What sholde be cause that I had be occupied
 With this dreame yet shortly I aspyed
 920 That this amerous study of Cupyde and Phebus
 Was cause therof whiche coude not be denyed
 Therfore in mynde I dyd playnly duscus

L. 896: *alwaye.*

L. 897: *reigne.*

L. 899: *dothe.*

L. 900: *without - them.*

L. 901: *From.*

L. 904: *may . . . aboute them.*

L. 905: *alway.*

L. 909: *corygyous.*

L. 913: *For ouyde sayth elles your loue shal not rest in tranquylyte.*

L. 918: *shold.*

L. 919: *yit.*

L. 922: *dyscus.*

That I wolde study nomore and specyally thus
 I wolde muse no more in the euenynge so late
 925 But conclude this shortly in wordes compendyouſ
 Leſt I ſholde be as I was erſte in myſerable eſtate

¶ Volunte ie ay mais ie ne
 veulx mon cuer chaunger.

¶ Thenuoye.

¶ Go humble ſtyle ſubmytte the to correccyon
 Be not ſo bolde to preſume to the preſence
 Of ony but ſuche as be enuyronde with effeccyon
 930 Let them arrect theyr eeres to rebuke thy neglygence
 To them thou perteyneſt of due congruence
 Let them more curyoſly thy rurall termes affyle
 How thou ſholdeſt be amended they haue beſt intellygence
 Therfore ſubmytte the to theym my poore & humble ſtyle
 935 ¶ Yf ony that be more ſad delytynge in grauyte
 And yf farther age wolde agayne the gyue euydence
 Sayenge they were well occupied *that* were troubled *with* the
 Wrote not Ouyde in as low ſtyle whiche yf they prepenſe
 They may thynke *that* I to auoyde of ſlouthe the vyolence
 940 Made this without cloke or rethorycall language
 Thynkynge that I ought not of due conuenyence
 Wryte the in ſo hyghe ſtyle as wyſe ſtoyes and ſage.

Finis.

L. 924: *wold*.

L. 926: *shold*.

Ll. 930, 931, 932: *theym*.

L. 933: *amended* . . . *intellygence*.

L. 934: *hnble* [*sic*]. A ſtroke over the *n* ſhows that *n* was a miſprint for *u*.

L. 937: Sayng . . . wel . . . *that* . . . *with* . . . *the*.

L. 938: *which* . . . *prepenſe*.

L. 939: *the*.

L. 940: *thys*.

¶ Lenuoy de Robert Coplande lymprimeur.

- A Ton aucteur / vatan petit liuret
Et luy prier / dexcuser ton empraint
945 Ce fault ia / de par moy incorrect
Par sa copie souuent iestoits constraint
De diuigner / ou lencre cestoit destaint
Ce nonobstant / ien ay faict mon debuoir
Pour son plaisir / dassembler blanc et noir.
- 950 ¶ Treshonoure filz / du seigneur latimer
Surnomme Neuyl / de noble parentaige
O maistre guillaume / en sens et vertu cler
Aucteur de ce / comme bon cler et saige
A vous / ie recommaunde cest ouuraige
955 De moy indigne / sinon par vostre suffraunce
En ce monstrant / ma folle ignoraunce.

¶ Fin de Lenuoy.

¶ Ballade royalle.

- THrone dhonneur / et de magnificence
Par excellence triumphant en haulteur
Playne de vigueur / et de douce clemence
960 Par vraye semence / naturel seigneur
Henry la fleur / et gubernateur
Dengleterre / en refulgence
Dieu le gard / de mal / et de douleur
Et honny soit qui mal y pence.

¶ R. Coplande to thauctour.

- 965 ¶ Take ye in gre / o worthy mayster myne
This rubryke frensshe / in verses incorrect
No meruayle is / thoughe theyr speche be not fyne

Heading: *Copland.*

L. 943: *vaten.*

L. 945: *ya for ia.*

L. 949: *fait.*

L. 950: *plesir.*

L. 954: *onuraige.* This is an evident misprint for *ouuraige.*

L. 963: *Dieu le garde.*

L. 967: *though.*

For in scole nor countre / I neuer toke effect
And frome your boke / let them be undeiect
970 Without your lycence / yf I dyd them impresse
Pardon I praye you / of this my homelynesse

¶ En passant le temps sans mal pencer

¶ Quod Coplande.

¶ Enprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the
sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de worde.

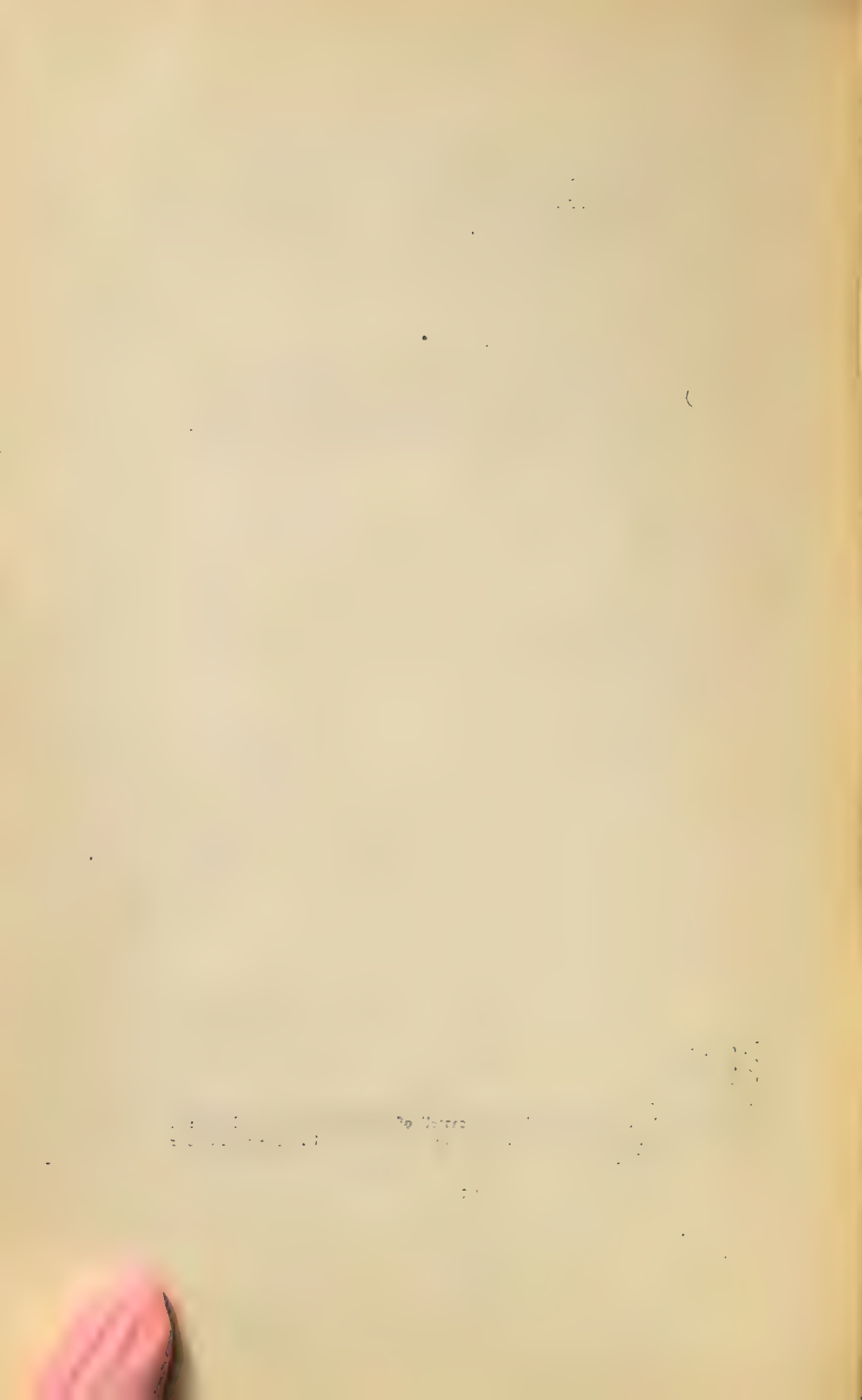
L. 968: *take*.

L. 969: *from*.

L. 970: *dyde*.

No period after *pencer*.

Colophon in *Pepwell*: Here endeth the castell of pleasure Enprynted in poules churchyard at the sygne of the Trynyte by me Hary Pepwell in the yere of our lorde. M. CCCCC. xviii.



NOTES

The Editor wishes here to make special acknowledgment of her indebtedness to the 'New English Dictionary' for much of the material in the Notes and Glossary.

12. In tharte of love theyr myndes to condescende. One comparable example (date 1704), of *condescende* as a transitive verb taking a substantive non-reflexive object is given in the N.E.D.
47. Tables cayles and balles. 'Backgammon, ninepins, and ball playing.' (See Miss Hammond's note: *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, 1927, p. 496.)
- 50-97. Compare with these lines Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I, 452 ff. As Miss Hammond has pointed out, Nevill ascribes to Phœbus part of a speech that originally belonged to Cupid, *Met.* I, 464-465.
73. And sayd I trust I shall this in haste dyscusse. *Dyscusse* here means *settle, decide*. This meaning is recorded in the N.E.D. among the obsolete senses of *discuss*, and is illustrated with examples from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth.
- 75-85. The convention of the golden and the leaden arrows is to be traced back to the following lines from Ovid:

'eque sagittifera prompsit duo tela pharetra
diversorum operum: fugat hoc, facit illud amorem;
quod facit, auratum est et cuspide fulget acuta,
quod fugat, obtusum est et habet sub harundine plumbum.'

Metamorphoses, I, 468-471.

For some additional examples of the use of this convention, or a variant of it, see J. Schick's note on *The Temple of Glas*, ll. 112-116 (E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. LX, 1891). See also *Roman de la Rose*, Langlois's edition II, l. 909 ff., and the note on l. 909.

87. Dame saunce mercy. This seems clearly an allusion to Alain Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans Merci*. Miss Hammond's suggestion that *dame* may have been miswritten for *Diane* cannot be accepted, for, however one may punctuate the text, it is not

by Diana that Daphne has been rendered devoid of love, but by Cupid's leaden arrow. The lines should probably be read with a full-stop after *loue*. It is by 'dame saunce mercy,' that is, in this case, Daphne, that Cupid proves his power.

If there be a misprint, it is probably *dame* for *dane*, since *Dane* was the regular form of *Daphne* in the French translations of Ovid at this period. The phrase *saunce mercy*, however, would still appear to be a reminiscence of Alain Chartier's poem.

- 89-93. Compare with these lines the following from Alain Chartier's *Debat des deux Fortunes d'Amours*, Du Chesne edition, 1617, p. 550. These lines are also describing the opposite effects of love:

L'ung est heureux & l'autre en desseure,
L'ung a plaisir, dueil court a l'autre seure
L'ung rit et chante
L'autre maudit sa fortune mechante,
L'autre est rauy en pensee plaisante,
L'ung ne s'en plaint, & l'autre ne s'en vante.

- 95-96. Compare this simile with Ovid's:

ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
vidit, et hic prædam pedibus petit, ille salutem,
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
sic deus et virgo est hic spe celer, illa timore.

Metamorphoses, I, 533-4, 539.

109. *Precedentes* is here used in the sense of *sign, indication*. The earliest example of the word with this meaning given in the N.E.D. is of the date 1581.
112. *Enhaunce* is used in several different ways in *The Castell of Pleasure*. In this case it seems to mean *overcome*. See Miss Hammond's note, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
119. *Sodaynly* came Morpheus & at a brayde. Compare with this line one from st. 3 of Stephen Hawes' *Example of Virtue* (*Dunbar Anthology*, p. 219): 'Morpheus to me then made abreyd.' It is noteworthy that Morpheus is the first conductor in both these pieces. Morpheus is the guide in Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods* (see l. 14 ff). Compare the part Morpheus plays in the

story of Ceyx and Alcyone, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 633-709. There he is not a guide, but a revealing divinity. Taking the form of Ceyx he appears to the desolate Alcyone, and discloses the circumstances of her beloved husband's death. Naturally, he figures in the same way in Gower's re-telling of the Ovidian story, *Confessio Amantis*, IV, 3039-3062, in Machaut's *La Fonteinne Amoureuse*, 658 ff., and in Chaucer's *Boke of the Duchesse*, l. 136 ff. Note the use of *a-brayd* in the last-mentioned, l. 192:

Anon this god of slepe a-brayd
Out of his slepe . . .

Skeat defines *abrayd* here as *woke up, started up* (*Glossarial Index to Chaucer's Works, the Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. VI [1894]). Skeat defines *at a braid* as in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 1336: 'And at a braid it bende' as *in a moment*.

125. **Resistance** here appears to mean *cessation*—a sense not mentioned in the N.E.D. The meaning may, however, be *the act of resisting*.
158. **Apparage**. Miss Hammond suggests *proweess* rather than *rank*. One meaning given in the N.E.D. is *nobility*. *Marcyall nobility* by extension may well be *martial proweess*.
186. Compare this stanza with two stanzas in *The Example of Virtue* (*Dunbar Anthology*, 222, sts. 15, 16):

Forth then we went to a haven's side
Where was a ship lying at road
Tarrying after the wind and tide,
And with much spices right well load[ed]
Upon it looking, we long abode,
Till Æolus, with blasts, began to roar;
Then we her aboarded with pain right sore.

This water ycleped was Vain Glory
Ever with jeopardy and tempestous
And the ship called was right truly,
The Vessel of the Passage Dangerous
The waves were high and greatly troublous
The Captain called was Good Comfort;
And the Steersman, Fair Passport.

- 194 ff. Compare the perilous bridge in *The Example of Virtue*, st. 179 (*Dunbar Anthology*, p. 264):

I saw then written this literal sense,
No man this Bridge may over go
But he be pure without negligence
And stedfast in God's belief also.
If he be ignorant, and do not so,
He must needs into this water fall
Over the head, and be drowned withal!

204. *Flowyshe* for *foolish*. Possibly a metathesis of *folwyshe*. The N.E.D. records *fowle* as a fourteenth century form of *fool* and *foulishe* as a fifteenth century form of the adjective.

215. Then euer had the well of helycon. Compare J. Schick's note on 706 of *The Temple of Glas*. Professor Schick has given numerous examples to show that the conception of Helicon as a well rather than as a mountain was characteristic of the Middle Ages.

- 218-219. Compare *The Example of Virtue* (*Dunbar Anthology*, p. 225):

A path we found right greatly used
Wherein we went till, at the last,
A castle I saw, whereof I mused,
Not fully from me a stone's cast.

- 220-221. I remembered that I had read in many a booke
That in this place of plesure were many a stormy blast

Compare the *Hous of Fame*, II, 523 ff:

Herestow not the grete swogh?
'Yis, pardee,' quod I, 'wel y-nogh'
'And what soun is it lyk?' quod he.
'Peter! betyng of the see,'
Quod I, 'again the roches holowe,
When tempest doth the shippes swalowe,
And let a man stonde, out of doute,
A myle thens, and here hit route.
Or elles lyke the last humblynge
After the clappe of a thundrynge
When Ioves hath the air y-bete;
But hit doth me for fere swete.'

225. Then as dysdayne is in favour with estates. See N.E.D. under *estate*, sb. 3c: 'ellipt.—person or persons of estate. Obs. (Cf. similar use of dignity)'.

226 ff. Compare *The Pastime of Pleasure*, 360 ff. and 2955 ff. Compare with l. 226 *Roman de la Rose*, 467: 'Hauz fu li murs e toz carrez.'

Of the 'beestes' mentioned in this passage, the lion, the greyhound, and the griffin were much used in heraldry. Two greyhounds had appeared as supporters upon the seal of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, William Nevill's great-great-grandfather. (Two seals, dated respectively 1390 and 1401, are represented in Drummond's *Histories of Noble British Families*, II, London, 1846, p. 8, under 'Neville.') The griffin figured as a supporter to the arms of some branches of the Nevill family (see *Drummond*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11, 14, 19). The unicorn was a well-known heraldic figure. The elephant was not common, but it had come into heraldic use before Nevill's time. (For an excellent and well-illustrated discussion of this animal in legend, art, and heraldry, see G. C. Druce's *The Elephant in Mediæval Legend and Art*, *The Archaeological Journal*, Second Series, XXVI, London, 1919; pp. 1-73.) The heraldic tiger appeared upon several standards of the early sixteenth century (see *Banners, Standards, and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms*, with an Introduction by Lord Howard de Walden, Walden Library, 1904).

234-235. The walles were allectyng of adamantes
The wyndowes of crystall were well fortyfyed

Allectyng. See the N.E.D., *allect*, to allure. The earliest use there given is from More's *Heresyes*, IV, 1528.

Adamantes. The adamant in the Middle Ages was confused with the diamond and with the loadstone or magnet. (See the N.E.D.) Bishop Marbodius of Rennes after mentioning the different kinds of adamant, wrote 'Omnibus æqua tamen vis est adducere ferrum' (*Liber de Gemmis*, Migne, P.L., Vol. 171, col. 1740). Other lapidaries are in agreement. Compare those collected by Leopold Pannier: *Les Lapidaires français du Moyen Âge*, *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, Fasc. 52; and those appearing in Studer and Evans' *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, Paris, 1924. Compare Trevisa's translation of Bartholomæus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, Book XVI, 'De Adamante.' That it was the drawing power of the adamant which Nevill had in mind is shown by ll. 291-294.

The wyndowes of crystall. Compare the walls of 'cristal' of *L'Hôpital d'Amour* once attributed to Alain Chartier (Du Chesne edition of Chartier's works, Paris, 1617). See also *The Kingis Quair*, ll. 77-78.

285. Euyyn table, that is, a plateau.

296. Pery. This word has the sense of *gust of wind*, or *wind*, or *storm*, or *wind storm*. Here none of these senses is quite satisfactory. *Disaster*, or *danger*, appears to be what the writer has in mind. Compare *The Pastime of Pleasure*, l. 1310, where the meaning seems doubtful:

O pensyfe herte / in the stormy pery
Mercury northwest / thou mayst se appere
After tempest / to glad thyne emispery

The definition given by Professor Mead for all three cases in which this word occurs in *The Pastime* is *gust of wind*. (See the glossary in Mead's edition of *The Pastime of Pleasure*, E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser. 173.) Compare note on l. 415 of *The Castell of Pleasure*.

302. To speke with desyre I dyd me hyder enhaunce. This use of *enhaunce* as a verb of motion seems to be unique. It would appear to go back to the Provençal *enansar*, to advance. Concerning this word, I quote from the N.E.D.: 'Formally, the A.F. *enhauncer* might correspond to Pr. *enansar* to advance enhance, repr. late L. type **inantiāre*, f. *in ante* before (cf. *Advance v.*); but this word is not known to have existed in O.F.' Cf. E. Levy's *Provençalisches Supplement*, Wörterbuch (Leipzig, 1898), *enansar*.

348-351. Enuyronde with emyraudes to it a free proteccyon
The Percyng dyamonds the amatiste amorous
The stedfast saphyr the blew turkes ryght precyous
With many other stones I lacke conyng them to shewe

Did Nevill have in mind any of the lapidaries? It is at once obvious that the descriptions of the stones here are too general for any very definite conclusions. But evidently our poet knew something of the traditional lore of precious stones. The emerald had one virtue which would make it especially suitable as a protection for the garden of affection: 'Si toilt tempesté e luxure' ('Texte du Premier Lapidaire,' L. Pannier's *Les Lapidaires français*, l. 262). The diamond may be called *piercing*, since it cuts other stones, iron, and steel. The blue turquoise is

rightly characterized as *precious*, since of the two colours, green and blue, blue is said to be the better. (See the Second Prose Lapidary, Studer & Evans' *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, p. 136.) Concerning the 'stedfast saphyr,' it may be worthy of note that in Trevisa's translation of Bartholomæus, Liber XVI, ca. lxxxvi, the sapphire is said to make the heart 'stedfast in goodnes.' As for the *amethyst amorous*, *amorous* may have the purely passive sense of *lovely* recorded in the N.E.D., or it may come from Pliny, who, in Chapter 40, Book XXXVII of his Natural History says of the amethyst, 'tales aliqui malunt pæderotas vocare, alii anterotas, multi Veneris genam.'

352. The comparison of the garden of love, or the garden of affection, to a paradise was conventional. See *Venus la Déesse d'Amor* (Ed. Wendelin Förster, Bonn, 1880), st. 11; *Roman de la Rose*, l. 635 ff; *Le Chastel de Joyeuse Destinée* (Droz and Piaget), I, ^{liii}.

360. **Mone.** The meaning seems to be *greet*, or *converse with*.

- 386 ff. Compare ll. 566 ff. from 'The Knight's Soliloquy' in *The Temple of Glas*, J. Schick's edition, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. LX, 1891:

I herd him make a lamentacioun
And seid: 'Allas! what thing may this be,
That now am bound, that whilom was so fre,
And went at large, at myn eleccioun;
Now am I caught under subieccioun,
Forto bicomme a verre homagere
To god of loue, where that, er I come here,
Felt in myn hert right nought of loutes peine;
But now of nwe within his fire cheyne
I am enbraced, so that I mai not striue
To loue and serue, whiles that I am on lyue

Compare also *The Kingis Quair*, st. 183 and Skeat's note on 'his goldin cheyne' (S.T.S., New Series, I; Edinburgh and London, 1911).

394. **I had forgotten the proces of alayne.** As Professor Carleton Brown has pointed out to me, 'alayne' may be Alanus de Insulis, and his 'proces' the *De Planctu Naturæ*. Nevill may have had in mind some of the passages on love and on Cupid in the famous work of Alanus. (See *Liber de Planctu Naturæ*, Migne, P.L., vol. 210, cols. 454-456.) Since, however, Alain Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans Merci* is a love poem in which the unhappy lover dies of his sufferings, it seems

likely that the reference is to that poem. If the latter interpretation be correct, there is the possibility that the 'proces' was the supposed arraignment of Alain Chartier himself or of his heroine before a court of love. (For an account of the poem and its imitations, see M. Arthur Piaget's articles in *Romania*, XXX, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXIV.) But *process* may mean simply *narrative* or *recital*. This sense of the word is illustrated in the N.E.D. by examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and, indeed, it appears only a little further on in the poem itself (l. 457). The 'proces of alayne,' then, may well have been *La Belle Dame sans Merci* in which the lover is represented as dying of the pangs of unrequited love.

395. I nothyng regarded the verses of vyrgyll
Which sayth to hyde colours is but vayne.

Perhaps the allusion is to Book II of the *Æneid*, ll. 387 ff. Some of the Trojans, in the turmoil of the fall of Ilium, having killed a number of Greeks, put off their own armour and put on that of the Greeks; soon they are attacked by other Trojans, who now mistake them for a band of the enemy. Compare especially l. 402: 'Heu! nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!' Another possibility is Book IV, 296-297. *Æneas* is preparing to depart; Dido cannot be deceived:

At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
præsentit motusque excepit prima futuros,
omnia tuta timens.

- 410 ff. Compare *The Temple of Glas*, l. 390 ff. of Venus' answer to the Lady's Complaint:

And thinkith this: within a litel while
It shal asswage, and ouerpasse sone;
For men bi laiser passen many a myle.
And oft also, aftir a dropping mone,
The weddir clereth, & whan the storme is done,
The sonne shineth in his spere bright,
And ioy awakith whan wo is put to flight.

12

Remembreth eke, hou neuer yit no wight
Ne came to wirship withoute some debate,
And folk also reiossh[e] more of light,
That Thei with derknes were waped & amate;
Non manis chaunce is alwai fortunate,
Ne no wight preiseth of sugre the swetnes,
But thei afore haue tasted bitternes.

415. After a grete pery the wether semeth more clere. *Pery* is but one form of the word *pirry*, or *pirrie*, which, in turn, is related to *birr* and *berry*. These words have the sense of *wind storm*. See the N.E.D. For the sake of convenience I shall give some of the examples there put down under *pirrie*:

c. 1420 Lydg. *Assembly of Gods*, 126. With a sodeyn pyry, he lapped hem in care.

c. 1440 *Promp. Parv.* 401-2 Pyry, or storme, *nimbus*.

? c. 1500 *Cov. Corp. Christi Plays* 8/226 E! fryndis, ther cam a pyrie of wynd with a myst suddenly.

1531 Elyot *Gov.* I, xvii, Aferde of pirries or great stormes.

1559 W. Cunningham *Cosmog. Glasse* Pref. 5, In sayling, thou shalt not . . . feare Peries and great windes.

As noted before (l. 296), three examples of this word, with the spelling used by Nevill, *pery*, occur in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, ll. 124, 1310, 2385.

419. Recorde the story in the tenth boke of Ouyde. *Metamorphoses*, X, 560-680.

428. Hippomenes, not *hyppomentes*.

432. God alwayes helpeth bolde men and fortune also. Compare *Metamorphoses*, X, 586: 'audentes deus ipse iuvat.' Compare also the following distich from the *Ars Amatoria*, I, 607-608:

Conloquii iam tempus adest: fuge rustice longe
Hinc Pudor! audentem Forsque Venusque iuvat.

It is interesting to observe that Nevill's line is rather strikingly similar to the translation of 'audacem forsque Venusque iuvat' given in *The flores of Ovide de arte amandi with theyr englysshe afore them*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1513, Distich 24: 'for bothe fortune & the goddesse of loue helpe a bolde man.'

452. Clidia. Clytie, who, wasting away because Apollo no longer loved her, became a flower ever turning toward the sun; see the *Metamorphoses*, IV, 256-270. This flower was the heliotrope, but the marigold was called heliotrope. See *The Court of Sapience*, l. 1310: 'The marygold, clepyd the elytrope.'

455. **Narcissus.** *Metamorphoses*, III, 344-510. In saying that Narcissus was changed to a water cress, Nevill may be confusing the narcissus with the nasturtium, which was called cress.
456. **Hyacinthus.** *Metamorphoses*, X, 162-219.
501. **Ieoperde.** The dissyllabic verb *jeopard*, which in Nevill's time might be either transitive or intransitive. See the N.E.D.
502. **And in his grete trouble he called fantasye amonge.** *Amonge* in this passage is hard to define. *Among* sometimes has the sense *therewith, besides* (see the Glossary in *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, edited by Carleton Brown). It may mean *at times* or *from time to time* (compare Otto Glauning's note on *among* as it occurs in the second of Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems*, ll. 61 and 76, E.E.T.S., Ex Ser. LXXX, and Bergen's Glossary in his E.E.T.S. edition of *The Fall of Princes*). The *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1440) gives *among* as 'sum tyme: Interdum, quandoque.' Du Cange records *interdum* as 'pro interim.' Perhaps *amonge* may be here defined as *interim, meanwhile*. To me, the nearest modern equivalent seems *then* thrown on parenthetically. The sense of the line according to this interpretation would be, 'In his great trouble, then, he called on Fantasy.'
506. In both texts a word, obviously *sore*, is omitted from the end of this line.
534. **They durst not serche the wounde it laye at myn herte rote.** Compare Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, I, 144 ff.

Bot natheles er he forthe wente
 A fryr Dart me thoghte he hente
 And threw it thurgh myn herte rote;
 In him fond I non other bote.

Note also *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 471: 'It tikleth me about myn herte rote.'

A number of examples of the phrase *herte rote* and of other cases of the weak genitive can be found in poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

See Joseph and Mary Elizabeth Wright's *An Elementary Middle-English Grammar*, Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. 139-140, §§ 341, 343. For the remnants of this usage in

Shakespeare, see W. Franz's *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, Dritte Verbesserte Auflage, Heidelberg, 1924, pp. 188-190, §§ 198-202.

542. *Auyled for availed.* This particular form is not given in the N.E.D. In the Pepwell print it is *auayled*; the spelling here, then, may be only a typographical error.
555. *Moste I can say is that ye shall be my moste conforte.* An awkward pun.
568. *I trust to se you gladdre your bonet to auayle.* To avail the bonnet, to take off the bonnet as a token of respect. See the N.E.D., *Avale*.
654. *And when he to danaes in a golden shoure dyde complayne.* *Metamorphoses*, IV, 610-611.
- 742-743. *Not Æolus yf he came with his moost stormy blast
Nor thesiphone coude cause betwene them dyscorde.*
Tisiphone, one of the Furies, at the request of Juno, drove mad Athamas and his wife Ino. Athamas, in his rage, pursued Ino as if she were a beast of prey. See the *Metamorphoses* IV, 464-530.
748. *Cessante causa cessat et effectus.* A legal maxim which is to be found in Bracton's treatise (before 1268), *De Assisa Novæ Disseysinæ*, Chapter XXIV: '... datur actio, ut cessante causa cesset effectus . . .' (*Henrici de Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ, Libri Quinque*. . . . Edited by Sir Travers Swiss, Vol. III [Rolls Series, London, 1880], p. 322.) Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634) used it in his report of Tyringham's Case. (*Reports*, Part IV, 38b; edited by J. F. Fraser, London, 1826, Vol. II, pp. 385-386) and in his report of the 'Case de Modo Decimandi.' (*Reports*, Part XIII; edition cited, Vol. VI, p. 444.) For a list of references on this phrase see Henry C. Adams' *Juridical Glossary*, Vol. I, A to E, Albany, New York, 1886.
750. *Enhaunce.* Here *enhaunce* probably means to *increase*.
755. *Had not credence interrupted his language.* In this line there is either a careless lapse on the author's part or a misprint. Both Credence and Disdain are represented as women. Beauty (l. 493) bids Fantasy call her sister Credence; Disdain is referred to by the feminine pronoun (see especially l. 826). Either

Dysdayne (l. 754) should here be *Desyre* or *his* should be *her*. Whether this error is due to the author's or the printer's carelessness one cannot state.

757. **Poynted.** *Poynted* here seems to mean *panted*. *Paunt* and *pont* appear in the N.E.D. as variant spellings of *pant*. The *Promptorium Parvulorum* gives 'Poyntyn, or pawsyn in redynge: pauso, -as, -aui, -re.' But for the following statement that Credence made a pause, I should think that *poynted* might here mean *paused*.

878. See Ecclesiastes, I, 2; XII, 8.

879. The well known *ubi sunt* motif.

901-902. Meaning: From the time that the dreaded but unloved lord is out of power, his subjects turn from him, so that he fails when he is in need. Cf. the N.E.D. *from* C, and *of*, *prep.*, I, 4, a.

904. Statutes of Love. Compare *The Temple of Glas*, ll. 1145-1270: the admonition of Venus to the Knight. See also *The Court of Love*, ll. 302-497 (*Chaucerian and other Pieces*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1897). As *The Court of Love* was not printed until 1561, and as it has come down in only one manuscript—of the sixteenth century, according to Skeat—it seems unlikely that Nevill had seen it. (See Skeat's Introduction, lxxii and lxxvi.) The poem may even have been written after *The Castell of Pleasure*.

Compare the *Kingis Quair*, st. 132 ff.: Minerva addressing the lover.

For a general discussion of the Statutes of Love, see W. A. Neilson's *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, Studies and Notes in Philology (Harvard) VI (1899), pp. 168-212.

914. *Ars Amatoria*, II. 358.

Vanescitque absens et novus intrat amor.

This line occurs in the *Flores de arte amandi*, printed 1513 by Wynkyn de Worde, Distich 53.

930. **Arrect.** The earliest example of this word in the N.E.D. is of the date 1529.

GLOSSARY

- aduerterd, *vb.* noticed, turned attention to, 170.
- affyle, *vb.* polish, 932.
- alecte, *vb.* allure, 7 (?). The vowel in the second syllable is not quite clear. It might be either *e* or *i*. I therefore include in the Glossary both *alect* and *alichte*.
- algate, *adv.* anyhow, at any rate, 39.
- alichte, *vb.* illumine, light, 7 (?).
- allectyng, *participial adj.* alluring, 234.
- alowe, *adj.* See N.E.D. A *prep.* + *Low*, *adj.* Contrasted with *aloft*. It is not entirely clear whether *alowe* here means low in spatial position, or in low condition or estate, 232.
- Skeat and Mayhew: *Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words* gives *alow* as *below*, *low down*. The examples quoted have reference to position in space.
- amerous, *adj.* lovely or lovable in 813, and probably lovely in 349; amerrous, probably in the usual sense of *amorous* in l. 756; amorous in the usual sense, 920, and possibly also 349.
- amonge, *adv.*, see the note on l. 502.
- appade, *adj.* contented, satisfied, 175.
- apparage, *sb.* prowess (?), 158. See note.
- arrect, *vb.* prick up, 930.
- at a brayde, *adverbial phrase*, at once, in a twinkling, 119.
- at a syde, at an end, 98.
- auewe, *indef. art. plus noun* (?), 353. Apparently, a *view* in the sense of a *beautiful sight* or *aspect*. The meaning seems to be that the garden had so beautiful an aspect.
- auyled, *vb.* availed, 542.
- bewrapped, *p. p.* smitten, 527. It is to be observed that *wrap* here seems to be a variant of *rap*; *bewrap* in this case = *be* and *rap*. The N.E.D. gives *wrap* as a possible variant of *rap* (*smite*) in the seventeenth century. See *rap*, *v.*

bonet to avayle, *verb phrase*, doff the bonnet, 568.

bote, *sb.* remedy, 533.

brayde, see *at a brayde*.

broder, *sb.* border, 875.

cayles, *sb.* ninepins, 47.

clees, *sb.* claws, 231.

compasse, *vb.* comprehend, 803.

compassyble, *adj.* attainable (?); the sense appears to be *gracious* or, perhaps, *condescending*, 803.

compenable, *adj.* associated together, 60; not the usual sense of *sociable* or *companionable*. (Miss Hammond gives the meaning 'associated together.')

condescende, *vb.* to yield to, or, perhaps, to bend to, 12. See note.

constreyneth, *vb.* forceth, compelleth, 629. Unusual; ordinarily it is a person or a force that constrains, not so concrete a thing as a dart.

construe, *vb.* interpret, 4.

deceyvable, *adj.* deceiving, deceptive, 288.

delycyous, *adj.* charming, 352, 812.

dyleccyon, *sb.* affection, 25.

dyscryveth, *vb.* pictureth, representeth, 650.

dyscusse, *vb.* settle, 73, 746; determine, 922. In l. 746 the spelling is *dyscus*, in 922 *duscus*.

dysporte, *sb.* pleasure seems to be the best definition here, 113, 460.

enhaunce, *vb.* overcome, 112, 917; advance (in space), 302; increase, 750, 808.

ententyfely, *adv.* attentively, 253. Compare *Pastime of Pleasure*, 306, 1463, 2917.

erthy, *adj.* earthly, 540. Earliest ex. of *earthy*, *dwelling or existing upon earth*, in the N.E.D., 1595.

expresse, *adv.* straightway, 315; *vb.* in the usual sense, 436, 588, 667.

fayne, *adj.* rejoiced, glad, 174.

forlore, *p. p.* lost, brought to nought, 201. Utterly lost according to Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*.

- gargaled, *vb.* decorated with gargoyles, 164.
- guardon, *sb.* One would suppose this to be a variant of *guerdon*, *reward*. But it seems rather to mean *guardianship*, 514. The N.E.D. gives *guarden* as a variant form of *guardian*. I find no supporting instance of the word in the sense of *guardianship*. It might mean *services*. Cf. Chaucer's *Boethius* III, Prosa 4, l. 37, 'for they yilden agein to dignitees as gret guerdon.' *Guerdon* in the usual sense of *reward* occurs in l. 391.
- guydeth, *vb.* *guide* here seems exactly defined by *govern, governeth . . . this goodly garden*, 514.
- harlotry, *sb.* frivolity, 48.
- hault, *adj.* high, 62, 679.
- immerciable, *adj.* unmerciful, 55.
- intencyon, *sb.* attention, 248.
- ieoperde, *vb.* risk, 501.
- lauriate, *adj.* worthy of laurel, 6.
- lauer, *sb.* stream, 210.
- let, *vb.* hindered, 505.
- lyvely, *adj.* living, 233.
- mased, *p.p.* bewildered, 334.
- mone, *vb.* See note on l. 360.
- moster, *sb.* prowess or mettle, 428. Compare the N.E.D.: *muster*, *sb.* 'to do muster, to show one's mettle, give proof of prowess. *Obs.*'
- mote, *sb.* a note of a horn or bugle (hunting), 536. See N.E.D. and Skeat and Mayhew's *Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words*.
- musynge, *adj.* dreamy, 115.
- nycete, *sb.* folly, 31.
- optayne, *vb.* to win the victory, prosper, 90.
- or, *adverbial conj.* before, 84.
- ouer go, *vb.* outstrip, 427; overwhelm, 94.
- penytrable, *adj.* having power to penetrate, 75, 734; penetrating, 849.
- pery, *sb.* wind, wind-storm, storm, a squall, 296, 415.
- poynted, *vb.*, see note on l. 757.
- precedentes, *sb.* signs, indications, 109.
- preelecte, *adj.* chosen before others, superior, 546.

prepenche, *vb.* intend or plan, 126; observe (?), 294; judge, 464; consider, 564; decide, resolve, 764; consider, 938.

The usual sense is *to consider* or *to determine beforehand*. See the N.E.D. and Skeat and Mayhew's *Glossary*.

procede, *vb.* continue one's course in, 786; perhaps *have the freedom of* is here a better definition.

processe, *sb.* conversation. 320; narrative, 394, 457; *in processe*, at length, 669; *in proces*, perhaps, *in the course of time*, 693.

prospeccyon, *sb.* a view, 165.

pryncy, *adj.* princely, 560.

recorde, *vb.* call to mind, 419.

recure, *sb.* aid, succour, 41. Perhaps *recovery*, which is the usual sense.

redresse, *vb.* return, 332.

repentyne, *adj.* sudden, 146.

replycacyon, *sb.* reply, 638. This word could be used in the general sense of *reply*, or as a technical term for the formal reply at law to a *charge*, or *bill of complaint*.

sowned, *vb.* imported, or signified, 241.

sprent, *vb.* spring suddenly, 380, 853.

syde, *sb.* at a syde, at an end, 98.

taryed, *vb.* waited for, 190; lingered, 499.

toste, *sb.* a toss or trick of tossing, 438. This word is not given as a noun in the N.E.D. *Tost* is given as a corruption of *toss*, the verb; *toste*, then, may be a corruption of *toss* the noun, which is defined as an act of tossing, pitching, throwing, or hurling.

transformacyon, *sb.* metamorphosis, 51.

travers, *sb.* a curtain, screen, or sliding door, 512. For examples, see the N.E.D. and Skeat and Mayhew's *Glossary*.

traversynge, *p. p.* going through, 50. Perhaps *examining thoroughly*. For this use, see Skeat and Mayhew's *Glossary*.

undeiect, *adj.* unrejected, 969.

unsyttynge, *adj.* unsuitable, 593.

ure, *sb.* ore, 182; use, practise, 445. See Note in Miss Hammond's *Anthology*.

utterance, *sb.* sale, 44; probably means manner of speaking, 304; speech, 512.

vyrent, *adj.* verdant, fresh, 8. The earliest occurrence of this word (*virent*) noted in the N.E.D. is of the date 1595.

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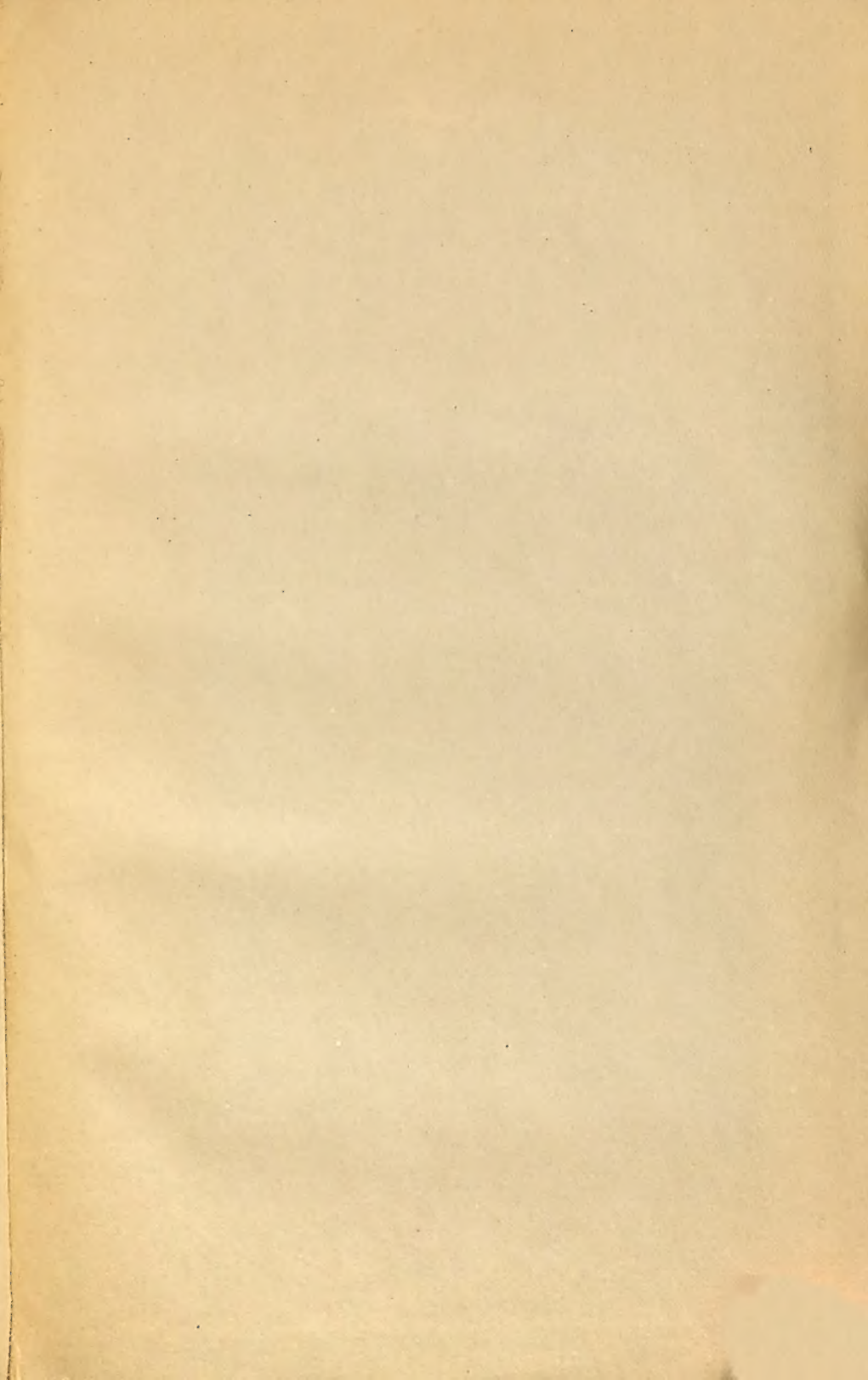
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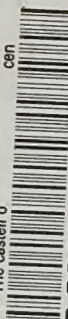
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